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ABSTRACT

This collection of papers includes the following: "Second Language Acquisition Research in Japan: Theoretical Issues" (Peter Robinson, Mark Sawyer, and Steven Ross); (2) "Focus on Form: Implicit and Explicit Form Focused Instruction Incorporated into a Communicative Task" (Hitoshi Muranoi); (3) "A Task that Works for Negotiation of Meaning" (Terefumi Fubata); (4) "Noticing Output and its Effects on Learner Production" (David Aline); (5) "Implicit and Explicit Instruction of L2 Complex Request Forms" (Satomi Takahashi); (6) "Literacy as an Anchor for the Spoken Language: Evidence from Adult Attriters of L2 Japanese" (Lyne Hansen and Jesse Newbold); (7) "Relationships among Attitudes, Motivation, Anxiety and English Language Proficiency in Japanese College Students" (Amy Yamashiro and John McLaughlin); (8) "Investigating the Role of Aptitude in an EFL Course in Japan" (James Sick and Kay Irie); (9) "The Role of the Language Teacher: Cross Cultural Perspectives" (Stephen M. Ryan and Veronica Makarova); and (10) "Japanese Secondary Students Attaining Oral Proficiency: Interviews with More and Less Proficient Individuals" (Jacqueline Beebe). (Papers contain references.) (SM)

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Second Language Acquisition Research in Japan

Peter Robinson, Mark Sawyer
and Steven Ross, Editors

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Second Language Acquisition Research in Japan

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Introduction

Chapter 1

Second Language Acquisition Research in Japan: Theoretical Issues

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Introduction.

The amount of second language acquisition (SLA) research taking place in Japan has increased enormously in the past decade, as indexed by the increasing numbers of journals, research groups, and conference presentations, as well as by increasing numbers of papers reporting SLA research in Japan in longer-established local and international journals. Partly this is the result of new graduate programs, in Japan, and outside it, which train researchers in this area of social, and cognitive, science. Increasing numbers of people working in university, and school level settings in Japan, as a result, are bringing their graduate training in SLA to bear on issues of instructed language learning, and are employing a range of suitable methodologies to arrive at their conclusions.

Partly the growth of SLA research in Japan is also the result of increasing interest in the acquisition of Japanese as a second language (JSLA), and a concerted effort to establish research groups, and conferences, and journals which disseminate the findings of research in this area. It is the impression of the first author of this introduction that, after studies of the SLA of English, the second language most studied and reported on at SLA conferences outside Japan—in the Pacific and North American regions at least—is Japanese. To help readers engage with this rich and valuable body of work a partial listing of some of these research groups and journals is listed in the appendix to this introduction.

A problem we acknowledge then, and wish to partially correct by referring readers at this point in our introduction to the information in our appendix, is that this collection is by no means representative of the full scope, and range of research methodologies, currently of interest to, or adopted by, Japan based SLA researchers. Nothing short of a multiple volume survey could be. We have worked within the procedural limits of this series by soliciting and reviewing submissions, and selecting what we feel to be a sample of the submitted papers that will be of interest to JALT readers.

With this caveat in mind, most of the data based papers in this collection deal with two broad issues which we judge to be of importance both to SLA theory, and to language teaching practice, in the Japan context. These issues are; i) the role of attention to, and awareness of, the grammatical form of input and output during instructed SLA (see the papers by Muranoi, and Aline) as well as attention to and awareness of pragmatic features of learner language (see the paper by Takahashi); and ii) the influence of individual differences in motivation (see the paper by Yamashiro and McLaughlin) and aptitude (see the paper by Sick and Irie) on instructed learning. In her paper Beebe also examines the role of learner variables in instructed learning, albeit using student interviews rather than aptitude tests, or questionnaire instruments, as the basis of her analysis. Ryan and Makarova, and Futaba, in their papers look at the influence of classroom variables, such as the nature of the task used to promote negotiation (in Futaba's case) and the learner's perceptions of the teacher's role (in Ryan and Makarova's case). Finally, Hansen and Newbolt in their paper examine an issue which may seem to be the inverse of instructed language learning—second language attrition of naturalistically acquired L2s— but which casts needed light on an important issue in SLA theory, and for language instruction—the route, and time course, of language loss.

In this introduction to the collection the theoretical background to the two main issues addressed is presented. Section 2 below describes the motivation for a focus on form in language classrooms, and section 3 describes research into the influence of individual differences in cognitive and affective factors on instructed learning. Section 4 briefly summarizes what we see as the current state of research into second language acquisition in Japan, and its future potential.

Focus on form and language learning

The role of attention, and awareness, in selecting input as intake for L2 learning has been a controversial issue in SLA theory for some time, and is addressed, directly and indirectly, by the first four papers in this volume by Muranoi, Aline, Takahashi and Futaba. Interest in this issue can be traced to the early attempt at SLA theory building by Krashen in the mid to late 1970s. Krashen (1985, 1994) argued that adult learners have access back to the 'unconscious' processes and innate mechanisms that guide L1 'acquisition', and that conscious 'learning' is minimally influential on the ability to learn and use an L2 in communication. However, Schmidt (1990, 2001) has argued that the critical notion of 'unconscious' is inadequately described in Krashen's work, and can be used to describe three different things; learning without *intention* (unconscious learning is possible in this sense, since we can learn without intending to); learning without explicit *metalinguistic knowledge* (unconscious learning is possible in this sense, since nobody has metalinguistic knowledge of all the rules of their L2); and learning without *awareness*. It is in this latter sense that learning must be conscious, Schmidt argues, since we must pay attention to input *and also* have the momentary subjective experience of 'noticing' it, if we are to subsequently learn. Schmidt argues that a higher level of awareness than noticing, rule understanding, is not necessary for learning, but can be facilitative. Schmidt's 'noticing' hypothesis has been the focus of debate, throughout the 1990s. Two broad theoretical objections have been raised to it. It has been claimed that attention *without* awareness *can* lead to learning (Tomlin & Villa, 1994), and also that the noticing hypothesis is *pretheoretic* since it does not specify what properties of input are available for noticing and learning (Carroll, 1999). A third objection is methodological (Truscott, 1998): it has been argued the noticing hypothesis is unfalsifiable given the difficulties of precisely measuring awareness

Operationalizing 'noticing'

Methodologies for studying the role of awareness and noticing in learning (in a variety of linguistic domains, across a variety of L2s) have included both *off-line* verbal report measures, such as diary entries, questionnaire responses, and immediate and delayed retrospection, as well as *on-line* measures such as protocols. Schmidt (Schmidt & Frota, 1986) found that diary entries describing aspects of L2 input (Portuguese) that he noticed in the input corresponded strongly with the subsequent appearance of these features in his production during interaction with a native speaker in planned, monthly conversations. Robinson (1996, 1997a) found that written questionnaire responses asking participants exposed to L2 input in an immediately prior experiment if they had searched for rules, and could say what the rules were, correlated positively, and significantly with learning in an implicit (memorize examples) learning condition, and that ability to verbalize rules correlated positively and significantly with learning in a condition where participants were instructed to try and find rules during exposure to the input. In both conditions positive correlations of language learning aptitude and awareness suggest that this is an ability variable that can trigger awareness at the levels of noticing, rule search and verbalization. Kim (1995) used immediate off-line retrospective verbal reports to examine the relationship between phonological awareness and L2 listening comprehension (measured as the ability to correctly match a picture to one of 30 aurally delivered texts). Finding slow speech rate resulted in greater comprehension, compared to normal speech rate, Kim established a tentative implicational hierarchy of phonological awareness based on verbal reports of those clues in the speech stream learners attended to in arriving at answers to the comprehension questions: perception of key words > of phrases > of clauses > and of conjoined clauses. Coding learners based on this hierarchy, however, failed to distinguish level of awareness of learners exposed to slow, versus normal speech, though there was a trend to higher levels of phonological awareness for those exposed to slowed speech, who also demonstrated significantly greater comprehension. Philp (1999) used an immediate off-line simulated recall technique to assess whether learners had noticed the relevant properties of orally delivered recasts. Immediately following provision of a recast during dyadic NS-NNS interaction, the NS prompted recall via a signal (a knock on the table). Correct recall and repetition of the recast form was assumed to demonstrate noticing. Philp found that, in general, and particularly for higher level learners, those who demonstrated greater noticing during the simulated recalls also demonstrated greater gain and development of question forms from pre to immediate and delayed posttests.

Other studies have used on-line measures of awareness, such as protocols (Alanen, 1995; Jourdenais, Ota, Stauffer, Boyson & Doughty, 1995; Leow, 1997, 2000; Rosa & O'Neill, 1999) to examine uptake and learning of information during treatments designed to draw learners attention to forms while processing for meaning (these involved italicizing, and underlining words in a text; completing a crossword puzzle; and completing a multiple choice textual jigsaw puzzle). Alanen (1995), Jourdenais, *et al.*, (1995), Leow (1997, 2000) and Rosa and O'Neill (1999), all reported that those subjects demonstrating greater noticing, and awareness during the on-line protocols also demonstrated greater intake and gain, at least on some aspects of the targeted forms in each study (aspects of Finnish grammar in Alanen,1995, and Spanish grammar in Jourdenais *et al.*,1995, Leow, 1997, 2000, and Rosa & O'Neill, 1999) compared to those whose protocols demonstrated less noticing and awareness of the targeted forms.

Focus on form

The noticing hypothesis offers a partial explanation of why a focus on meaning alone, with plentiful opportunities for exposure and processing of input, as in Canadian immersion classrooms, often results in levels of high comprehension ability, and fluency, but poor accuracy in production (Harley, 1993; Harley & Swain, 1984). Learners did not selectively attend to and notice communicatively redundant, perceptually non-salient, or infrequent and rare forms in the input. In these, and other cases Long (1991) has argued *focus on form*, in the context of meaningful use of language, may be necessary to promote and guide selective attention to aspects of input which otherwise may go unnoticed, unprocessed and unlearned. 'Focus on form refers to how focal attentional resources are allocated....during an otherwise meaning-focussed classroom lesson, focus on form often consists of an occasional shift of attention to linguistic code features—by the teacher and/or one or more students—triggered by perceived problems in communication' (Long & Robinson, 1998, p.23).

Undoubtedly, while processing oral L2 input for meaning, as in naturalistic, or immersion environments, and during L2 reading, learners do unintentionally attend to, notice, and learn many vocabulary or grammatical and pragmatic features of the L2 (incidental learning) (Huckin & Coady, 1999; Hulstijn, 2001; Rott, 1999; Schmidt, 1990, 1995). However, in those areas where unguided incidental learning is slow and inefficient (Long, 1996), or just not possible for learnability reasons (White, 1991) guided focus on form is widely accepted to be a necessary pedagogic intervention. More controversial is the nature of the pedagogic technique intervention should adopt in order to be optimally effective, while being minimally intrusive on the communicative activity (Doughty & Williams, 1998). For example, is it more effective to *proactively* instruct learners in targeted features prior to communicative activities, via a brief rule explanation, or metalinguistic summary (instructed learning)? Or is it better to adopt less communicatively intrusive techniques for focussing attention on form, by giving learners instructions to process for meaning (e.g., to read a news article in preparation for a debate) while drawing their attention, through underlining or highlighting, to targeted forms in the text (enhanced learning)? Alternatively, *reactive* techniques for focus on form, such as oral recasts of problematic learner utterances, involve no *a priori* decision about which forms to target.

Recent experimental laboratory research has investigated these issues by comparing differences in learning under incidental, instructed and enhanced conditions, across a variety of linguistic domains (see Hulstijn, 1997 for review). This research has often also been concerned to match the difficulty or complexity of the targeted instructional form to the best learning condition. While conceptualizations and/or operationalizations of rule complexity differ across studies (see Doughty & Williams, 1998; Hulstijn & de Graaff, 1994; Robinson, 1996; Tanaka, 1999 for discussion) a general summary of the laboratory research findings is that proactive rule instruction has often been shown to lead to short-term rate advantages over incidental and enhanced learning in simple grammatical domains (de Graaff, 1997a,1997b; DeKeyser, 1995; Ellis, 1993; Moroishi, 1999; Robinson, 1996, 1997a) but in many of these studies the positive effects of rule instruction are much less obvious for complex grammatical domains.

There is also evidence from experimental laboratory research (Robinson, 1997b; Williams, 1999) and classroom studies (Alanen, 1995; Carroll & Swain, 1993; Doughty, 1991; Doughty & Varela, 1998; Fotos, 1993; Izumi, Bigelow, Fujiwara & Fearnow, 1999; Iwashita, 1999; Jourdenais, *et al.*, 1995; Koyanagi, 1999a, 1999b; Leeman, Arteagoitea, Fridman & Doughty, 1995; Leow, 1997, 2000; Muranoi, 1996, 2000; Spada & Lightbown, 1993; White, 1998; White, Spada, Lightbown & Ranta, 1991) that enhanced learning conditions, adopting; a) techniques for off-line, proactive, textual input enhancement of targeted forms, as well as; b) reactive, on-line aural/interactive, or gestural enhancement of problematic aspects of production during communicative tasks (which are both *assumed* to induce selective attention and noticing) can also positively affect learning, relative to unstructured and unenhanced exposure alone. However, relying as they may, to a much greater extent on individual differences in cognitive ability variables such as aptitude (Robinson, 1997a, 2001; Robinson & Yamaguchi, 1999), or working memory capacity (Doughty, 2001; Mackey, Philp, Egi, Fuji & Takaguchi, in press; Philp, 1999; Williams, 1999), group effects for input and output enhancement have been less robust than those for explicit rule instruction. Nevertheless, given the short-term nature of most of the experimental laboratory studies of the effects of rule instruction, it may be that the positive effects of input and output enhancement obtained in classroom studies—which are typically studied over much longer, and more ecologically valid, periods of exposure—while showing less immediate short-term gain, are more durable and permanent (see Doughty & Williams, 1998; Ellis & LaPorte, 1997; Norris & Ortega, 2000; Long & Robinson, 1998; and Spada, 1997, for extended reviews and interpretations of these findings, and papers by Takahashi, Aline and Muranoi, this collection, for empirical studies of these issues).

In an important sense, then, relying as it does on generally available cognitive resources and capacities, 'noticing' and uptake of information made salient by focus on form techniques will be sensitive not only to task factors which differentially direct resources to input (Robinson, 1995; Skehan, 1998) but also to individual differences in the extent of those resources and capacities (Mackey, et al., in press; Robinson, 2001). Research is now proceeding on how to conceptualize aptitude, and relevant measures of individual differences in noticing and uptake capacities (see Robinson & Skehan, in press), and it is to this issue that we now turn.

Individual differences and instructed learning

Individuals who attempt to learn a foreign language differ dramatically in their rates of acquisition and in their ultimate attainment. Although this clear fact about SLA applies to naturalistic and instructed learning settings alike, individual differences in instructed learning are especially important for at least two reasons. The first reason is that the scarcity of opportunities for input and output outside of the classroom often reduces learners' chances of compensating for any shortcomings that learners may have in benefiting from classroom learning procedures. The second reason is that teachers have the ability to modify their instruction to accommodate learner differences, either through a sufficiently wide variety of pedagogical techniques, or through some sort of principled streaming or grouping procedures. Over the past 30 years, various L2 researchers have identified and argued for the importance of a wide range of individual differences. Those that have been the most consistently associated with differential L2 achievement will be discussed briefly below: language aptitude, motivation, cognitive style, anxiety, and several personality traits.

Language aptitude

Foreign language learning aptitude has been defined by John Carroll, the most prominent scholar in this area, as "some characteristic of an individual which controls, at a given point of time, the rate of progress that he will make subsequently in learning a foreign language" (1963). Studies investigating L2 success in relation to language aptitude have generally yielded correlation coefficients in the .4 to .6 range (Carroll, 1981, p. 93). These are considered moderate to strong correlations, and although they imply that considerable learner variation remains to be explained by additional factors, they also demonstrate that language aptitude has consistently been the single best predictor of subsequent language learning achievement. Partly due to its association with the abuses of intelligence testing, interest in language aptitude waned during the 1980s, but rebounded in the 1990s, following the lead of Peter Skehan (e.g. 1989, 1998). As discussed by Sawyer and Ranta (in press), recent research in language aptitude has effectively countered some of the typical reservations expressed about language aptitude as an explanatory construct. For example, the claim that language aptitude is not a stable trait has been weakened by the work of Skehan (e.g. 1990) and Sparks and Ganschow (e.g. 1993), which has demonstrated links between L1 and L2 abilities. Likewise, the claim that language aptitude is relevant only to formal instruction has been refuted by evidence from studies in immersion settings (Harley & Hart, 1997), communicative language teaching settings (Ehrman & Oxford, 1995), and experimental laboratory settings (De Graaff, 1997; Robinson, 1997a). The criticism that the construct of language aptitude has no clear relationship to acquisition processes has been addressed by way of showing its connection to working memory (Harrington & Sawyer, 1992; Miyake & Friedman, 1999), and to noticing (Ranta, 1998; Robinson, 1997a). An additional interesting line of research that is now emerging explores the connection between language aptitude and the effects of the critical period. Exciting studies in this area include those by DeKeyser (2000) and Ross, Yoshinaga, and Sasaki (to appear). Recent efforts to improve on the measurement of language aptitude over Carroll's (1959) Modern Language Aptitude Test have been made by Sasaki (1996), Grigorenko, Sternberg, and Ehrman (2000) and Sick and Irie (this volume). For one up-to-date perspective on the state of language aptitude research, see Sparks and Ganschow (2001).

Motivation

Motivation is also clearly important in a difficult, often never-ending task like second language learning. However, measuring it directly is more difficult than measuring an ability factor like language aptitude, so motivation research has relied heavily on self-report questionnaires. Robert Gardner and his colleagues at the University of Western Ontario developed the Attitudes and Motivation Test Battery (AMTB), which has since been the basis for numerous studies (for reviews see Gardner, 1985; Gardner & MacIntyre, 1993). As one example, a median correlation coefficient of r= .37 between motivation as measured by AMTB and language achievement (French grades) was reported by Gardner (1980) in a large-scale survey in Canada. Correlations of that magnitude are not unusual, but numerous other studies have also produced lower and sometimes even negative correlations between self-reported motivation and achievement. Besides the inherent limitations of self-report data, the AMTB strongly reflects Gardner's emphasis on attitudes toward target language speakers and his distinction between integrative and instrumental orientations, and these may not generalize well to a wide range of contexts. For a critique of Gardner's line of research, see Au (1989), and for the latest work in the Gardnerian tradition, see Gardner, Tremblay, and Masgoret (1997). Yamashiro and McLaughlin (this volume) also utilize many of the strong features of the Gardner research program, but with numerous expansions and innovations of their own. Starting with Crookes and Schmidt (1991), there have been numerous attempts to broaden the conceptualization of L2 motivation and initiate new productive lines of research. Oxford (1996) and Dornyei and Schmidt (2001) contain studies pursuing these new lines. Dornyei (1998, 2001a, b) has published several comprehensive surveys and integrations of diverse lines of motivation research, and has also proposed a promising model of motivation incorporating a temporal perspective (Dornyei & Otto, 1998;Dornyei, 2000).

Cognitive style

The term cognitive style has been used to label a variety of phenomena of interest to different scholars, but the bulk of L2 research using the concept has been based on the opposing styles of field independence (FI) and field independence (FD). FI individuals are those adept at distinguishing figure from ground on visual tasks, while FD individuals are those who tend to perceive in a more holistic fashion. In L2 learning, it is thought that FI learners have an advantage in analyzing language material, while FD learners are better at developing interpersonal skills. Important to the concept of style is that it refers to differences in tendency rather than categorical differences in processing abilities; furthermore, it is assumed that neither end of the style continuum is inherently better than the other. Unfortunately, the test that has been used in nearly all the L2 research on FI/D, the Group Embedded Figures Test (GEFT) (Oltman et al., 1971), is clearly an ability rather than a style measure. Individuals who are able to quickly and accurately recognize simple familiar figures embedded in complex configurations of lines are labeled FI, and those who have less of this ability are labeled FD. There is no corresponding interpersonal task to confirm any advantages for FD; instead , FD is simply the absence of FI. Largely due to ease of administration, many studies have been conducted using the GEFT, often producing correlation coefficients between field independence and language achievement measures in the r= .30 range, and sometimes as high as .43 (Stansfield and Hansen, 1983). On the other hand, different studies (e.g. Ellis, 1990) have found little or no relationship between GEFT scores and learning, and Hansen (1984) found that high correlations in the .40 range essentially disappeared when the effects of academic ability were factored out (see Chapelle & Green, 1992 for an overview of these studies.) Skehan (1989), Ellis (1994), and Griffiths and Sheen (1992) have all suggested abandoning further efforts to investigate FI/D in relation to L2 learning, but Chapelle (1992; Chapelle & Green, 1992) has argued that FI/D is worthy of further study. Chapelle does not see its value so much in terms of style measurement but rather in its potential to lead us to a better understanding of the "cognitive restructuring ability" that seems to underlie performance on embedded figures tests. Extending these arguments, Skehan (1998) has proposed a framework that attempts to illuminate the relationships between aptitude, cognitive style, and task demands. Nevertheless, the tradition conception of FI/D as a bipolar cognitive style has been argued anew by Johnson, Prior, and Artuso (2000), but this time with the interesting twist that unlike all previous studies, evidence is reported for advantages in field dependence as indicated by poor GEFT performance.

Anxiety

Anxiety is potentially a very important individual difference, but perhaps the most difficult to generalize about, starting from the question of whether it is more productively examined as a trait or a state. Some people habitually tend to be more anxious than others, so there is something that can be called a trait, but everyone undergoes anxiety in some situations, though these situations vary according to the individual. The next difficult question about anxiety is whether it has a positive or negative effect on learning; according to Scovel (1978), it is sometimes facilitative, sometimes debilitative, and the relationship between anxiety and performance is not be linear. A little bit may help, but too much will hurt. Gardner and colleagues (e.g. MacIntyre & Gardner, 1991) have conducted numerous studies assessing the effects of anxiety, and in general ,the questionnaire-based studies by them and others have produced low-strength negative correlations in the r= -.20 to -.30 range with language achievement measures. A third question generated by such correlations concerns the direction of relationship. Whereas anxiety researchers generally interpret the relationship as one of anxiety affecting performance, others, such as Sparks and Ganschow (1991, 1995, 2000), argue that anxiety results from a more or less justified appraisal of deficiencies in ability. A final basic unanswered question about anxiety is the extent to which the anxiety experienced in foreign language classrooms is unique in some important sense. Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (e.g. 1986, reprinted in Horwitz & Young, 1991) argue that it is, and recent studies have gone even farther to identify anxieties associated with specific skills: writing (Cheng, Horwitz, & Schallert, 1999); reading (Saito, Horwitz, & Garza, 1999), and listening (Vogeley, 1999; Kim, 2000). For recent reviews of anxiety research, see MacIntyre (1999) and Horwitz (2001).

Personality traits

The effect of personality traits on L2 achievement is the area that has perhaps been the most disappointing in ID research, producing few clear findings. Ellis (1985, p. 120) suggests that identification and measurement of relevant variables is particularly difficult in personality research, whereas Skehan (1989, p. 105) views the problem more in terms of over-reliance on the feeder discipline of psychology. Both of these views are opposed by Griffiths (1991), who sees the adoption of a clear theoretical framework, specifically that of H.J. Eysenck (Eysenck

& Eysenck, 1985), as a first step to progress in the area. Other researchers have made use, at least implicitly, of a Jungian view of personality structure, which underlies the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI) (Myers and McCaulley, 1985). Ehrman (1990) and Carrell et al. (1996) represent two examples of research that have used the MBTI to attempt to relate personality-based learning styles to L2 achievement, but without quantitatively clear patterns emerging. Risk-taking as an individual difference has been discussed by Beebe (1983) and put to empirical test by Ely (1986). In Ely's study, risk-taking (measured by a 6-item self-assessment), correlated at .39 with observed classroom participation, but then classroom participation had a significant relationship with achievement on only one of the achievement measures that Ely used. Social style, sociability, and extroversion are overlapping personality traits that have over the years been used in numerous studies, and which are represented in some form on both the Eysenck and MBTI instruments. A wide variety of results have been reported, only about half of them indicating positive relationships. As observed by Skehan (1989, p. 104), the results have tended to follow from the methodology--observation studies have yielded positive results, and questionnaire studies have produced null findings. A good example of the former is Strong (1983), who found that child learners observed talkativeness and responsiveness produced strong correlations with their communicative language measures. An example of no such relationship is Ely's (1986) study, where sociability was an even poorer predictor of achievement than risk-taking. According to Dewaele and Furnham (1999), however, the problem has been not so much with the measurement of extroversion, as with the criterion measure that extroversion was expected to influence. They argue that extroversion does not directly predict success in L2, but it does affect both L1 and L2 speech production.

This brief overview has been necessarily selective, and has left out entirely some important areas that arguably fall within the domain of individual differences. One area of longstanding interest to many teachers is that of language learning strategies. Beebe (this volume) deals with some of the important issues relevant to strategy research, and Wharton (2000) is an fairly representative example of the sort of research that has been done on language learning strategies during the 1990s. Other areas that have been neglected are sensory (and other types of) learning styles, epistemological beliefs, self-concept, self-esteem, self-confidence, self-efficacy, tolerance of ambiguity, ego permeability, and willingness to communicate. What these areas have in common is that they are all typically measured by self-report questionnaires, and they are even more difficult to isolate operationally than motivation or anxiety. For these reasons, among others perhaps, none of them have produced impressive results to date, but that certainly does not mean that they can be dismissed as unimportant to L2 learning outcomes. The whole field of individual differences is ripe for additional studies that build on but go beyond what has already been done, in order to reveal what matters most in determining each individual's L2 achievement.

Conclusion

This volume has sampled a number of approaches to second language acquisition research in Japan that represent views current in the field concerning the roles of attention to, and awareness of the form of input during instructed second language learning, and the role of individual differences in mediating and capitalising on that attention and awareness. Second language acquisition research is often said to be an emergent discipline, one that, in our context, has inherited the century-old tradition of language study. It is also a field that has reoriented itself to include a wide spectrum of domains both directly and tangentially related to language acquisition. The traditional approach to language study in Japan has been largely focused on two main areas of scholarship: the organization of teaching practice (gengokyoiku), and the analysis of language (predominantly English) structure (eigogaku). These two fields have come to focus not on the processes of interlanguage emergence, elaboration, or stabilization, but have in the main addressed approaches to organization of pedagogical materials and descriptions of linguistic structure of the foreign languages as they are used by native speakers. The cumulative result has been a paucity of attention paid to the consequences of formal language learning and naturalistic acquisition. Paradoxically, we have been more interested knowing about how a language like English is used among its native speakers than how it is represented in the minds of our own Japanese learners. This situation is now changing. The many papers in this volume, and the references listed in our appendix, demonstrate that the scope of scholarship in SLA research in Japan is now in the process of moving well beyond issues of optimal materials for language teaching and structural analyses of target usage. We are now firmly focused as never before on the myriad of factors and processes affecting language acquisition often quite independently of research into the effects of pedagogic variables and descriptions of native grammars.

A key characteristic of SLA research in general, and increasingly in Japan, is that the varied methodologies we use seek to reveal the processes of language acquisition. The many methods of research used to this end include dairies, discourse analysis, conversation analysis, experimental design, quasi-experimental design, ex-post-facto analysis of interrelated phenomena influencing SLA, sociometry, structural equations, multilevel modeling, error analysis, interlanguage analysis, grammaticality judgements, reaction time, discourse completion, ethnography, introspection, and retrospective accounts. The large number of research tools currently in use, outside Japan, as well as within it, reveals the scope of the SLA research effort.

It is perhaps fortuitous that SLA research in Japan has come of age at the beginning of the new millennium. Researchers here may well be justified in feeling that they are now at a new beginning. We are engaged in an enterprise that will slowly, but surely, lead us to a deeper understanding of the processes of SLA, and the impact of interactions between acquisition processes, instructional formats, and individual differences, as they occur during second language acquisition in instructed settings.

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Appendix: Selected further information on SLA research in Japan.

i) The Japan Second Language Association, a research group, has meetings and organises conferences. It is mainly focused on linguistic approaches to SLA (we are grateful to Shigenori Wakabayashi, Gunma Prefectural Women's University for this information). The first volume of their journal: *SECOND LANGUAGE* will be published December 2001. The URL for contact information, and conference details is: <http://www.kuwana.ne.jp/hidekiy/J-SLA/Index_Japanese.html>

ii) The SLA special interest group of the Japan Association of College English Teachers (JACET) has been active in organising SLA meetings for some time. An excellent annotated bibliography (in Japanese) of research papers, and books, addressing a broad spectrum of issues in SLA research, and language pedagogy, has been published by this group; see Sano, F., et al. (Eds), (2000). *Annotated Bibliography of SLA Research.* Tokyo: Jacet. It is highly recommended as a source of further information about SLA research in Japan. Contact Fujiko Sano, <sanofujiko@mtd.biglobe.ne.jp>, or see the JACET website at; <http://www.jacet.org> for further details of JACET SLA meetings and publications.

iii) The Japanese affilliate branch of the Pacific Second Language Research Forum (JPacSLRF) also organizes SLA meetings and events. JPacSLRF will be organizing three days of SLA focussed presentations at the JALT/PAC 3 conference at Kitakyushu, in November 2001. See the JALT conference website for details of these. For details of the 4th PacSLRF conference in Honolulu, and for general information on PacSLRF, see ; <http://www.LLL.hawaii.edu/pacslrf/>

iv) There are many SLA groups that focus on the SLA of Japanese. Here are some references to those (we are grateful to Kaoru Koyanagi, Sophia University, for these references):

a) A journal that entirely focuses on Japanese SLA is *Acquisition of Japanese as a Second Language,* edited by the "Japanese Association of Second Language Acquisition."

This journal began in 1997. Titles (only in Japanese) can be seen through the internet; <http://sv.cc.ocha.ac.jp/~gradu1/ajsl.html>

Other journals that include JSLA papers are the following.

b) *Journal of Japanese Language Teaching* (edited by the Society for Teaching Japanese)(Currently papers written in English are not accepted, but titles and abstracts in English are always attached.) Internet address; <http://wwwsoc.nacsis.ac.jp/nkg/menu-book.html> (It is possible to search papers by key words.)

c) *Japanese-Language Education around the Globe* (edited by the Japan Foundation Japanese Language Institute). Internet address <http://www.jpf.go.jp/e/urawa/e_public/e_ronsyu/e_ron_10_01.html> (Titles and abstracts in English are available.)

d) Research organizations which focus on JSLA research are;

1)Japanese Association of Second Language Acquisition. An annual conference is held in December. The journal (see above) which is published once a year, is widely read not only in Japan but also abroad.

2)The Society for Studying Second Language Acquisition (affiliate branch of 1) in Kanto area) Bi-monthly meeting is held at Ochanomizu University. Usually a couple of papers are presented.

e) Finally, two people have put Japanese SLA bibliographies on their homepage;

1) Prof.Yukiko Hatasa(Univ.of Iowa). Internet address <http://lime.weeg.uiowa.edu/~japanese/syllabus/JSLAReference-subject.html>

2) Prof.Ruth Kanagy . Internet address <http://oregonjapanlink.com/jl2bibli.htm>

Section I. Learning Processes and Instruction

Chapter 2

Focus on Form: Implicit and Explicit Form-Focused Instruction Incorporated into a Communicative Task

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Recent classroom second language (L2) acquisition studies have revealed that communicative language teaching which systematically leads L2 learners to attend to linguistic forms can help them develop well-balanced communicative competence. There remain, however, a great number of issues to be examined regarding the impact of formal instruction on classroom L2 acquisition. For example, we need to know more about how to systematically incorporate form-focused instruction into communicative teaching.[1] Specifically, more empirical studies should be conducted to examine the differential effects of the various types of form-focused instruction available to L2 teachers. L2 researchers must also investigate whether particular combinations of different types of form-focused instruction are more effective for L2 learning than other combinations because L2 teachers are more likely to mix several instructional options rather than exclusively using one type of form-focused instruction. Motivated by these needs for further research, this study investigates the effects of different form-focused treatments, all given to L2 learners within the framework of a task-based approach. The impact of a communicative task involving implicit form-focused instruction (i.e., teacher feedback) is compared with the impact of a communicative task involving both implicit form-focused feedback and explicit formal instruction. Both are in turn compared with a control treatment in which a communicative task is carried out without any form-focused treatment. Qualitative changes triggered by these focus-on-form treatments are analyzed and reported in this paper.[2]

Focus-on-Form Research

The need to incorporate form-focused instruction into meaning-focused instruction has been conceptualized with the term 'focus on form,' coined by Long (1991). 'Focus on form' is operationalized as a type of instruction in which the primary focus is on meaning and communication, with the learner's attention being drawn to linguistic elements only as they arise incidentally in lessons. This is in sharp contrast with the traditional grammar instruction, or 'focus-on-forms' instruction, which places a focus on forms themselves in isolation.

Based on this operationalization, a number of empirical studies aiming at determining the effect of focus on form have been conducted. Spada and Lightbown (1993), for example, conducted a quasi-experimental study on the effects of form-focused activities and exercises and corrective feedback on the development of interrogative constructions in the oral performance of ESL learners in Quebec. Results from the two week experiment led them to conclude that form-focused instruction within communicative language teaching can enhance L2 acquisition by ESL learners.

A number of researchers have attempted to implement form-focused instruction in communicative language teaching by enhancing interactional modifications such as recasts and clarification requests in L2 classrooms. Doughty and Varela (1998) examined the effects of recasting on L2 learning in the context of a content-based ESL science class in the United States. In their study the instructor provided learners with corrective recasts whenever past or conditional errors occurred in speaking and writing. Learners who were given recasts showed greater improvements in accuracy and a higher total number of attempts at past time reference than the control group.

Positive effects of form-focused feedback in the form of clarification requests were reported by Takashima (1994), who provided Japanese learners of English as a foreign language (EFL) with form-focused feedback aiming at leading the learners to modify their output. Results of his experiment support the facilitative effects of his output-oriented treatment on the learning of the target grammar, in this case past-tense forms.

Raising learners' consciousness of linguistic form within communicative tasks is another type of focus-on-form instruction. Fotos (1994), for instance, developed grammar consciousness-raising tasks in which learners must interactively solve grammar problems in the target language. Fotos reported that these tasks successfully promoted negotiated interaction and proficiency gains among Japanese EFL learners.

These studies, along with other effect-of-instruction studies, strongly indicate that a timely combination of form-focused instruction and communication-oriented instruction is beneficial to L2 learners.[3] What is now needed in focus-on-form research is identification of more diverse ways of making this timely combination possible. And L2 researchers are also required to investigate the effects of combining two or more form-focused instructional techniques.

The Present Study

Based on the results of previous focus-on-form studies, the following research question was formulated:

> Does a communicative task involving both implicit and explicit form-focused instruction help L2 learners develop their interlanguage systems better than a communicative task involving only implicit form-focused instruction or a communicative task involving no form-focused instruction at all?

Method

Quasi-experimental research was conducted to examine the effects of different focus-on-form treatments on L2 acquisition. All treatments were administered within the basic framework of a task-based approach, differing mainly in the manner of focus on form. The subjects were Japanese learners of English enrolled in three intact EFL courses at a university in Japan (n = 91). Two classes served as experimental groups and the other as a control group. A one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) revealed that there were no significant differences among the three groups' mean scores on the pretest ($F(2/88) = 0.90$, *n.s.*).

Instructional treatments were provided during three training sessions, each of which lasted approximately 30 minutes. All three treatments were administered during weekly 90-minute EFL classes taught by the researcher. One pretest and two post-tests were given in order to examine both short- and long-term effects of instruction. This paper reports the results of analyses of the subjects' performance in the pretest and the immediate post-test.

Instructional Focus

The instructional focus of this study is the English article system, one of the most difficult linguistic forms for L2 learners. It was the prediction in this study that instruction focusing on errors with the indefinite article should have a positive effect not only on these errors, but also on errors with the definite article. This prediction follows from Chaudron and Parker's (1990) discourse markedness theory, which claims that indefinite noun phrases are more marked than definite noun phrases in terms of discourse constraints. Effects on the acquisition of more marked features should thus be projected onto the acquisition of more unmarked features, and the instructional treatments used here directly targeted errors with indefinite articles only.

Pretesting Measures

The subjects were pretested on their command of English articles using four different tasks: an oral story description (OS) task, an oral picture description (OP) task, a written picture description (WP) task, and a grammaticality judgment (GJ) task. In the OS task, the subjects were shown two short silent scenes taken from American movies and asked to describe what was going on in the scenes. In the OP task the subjects were given a four-page test packet with one situation (four pictures) on each page and asked to describe the situations orally. The WP task was used to measure the subjects' ability to produce English articles in the written mode. The subjects were presented with two sets of four pictures depicting several people and animals. They were directed to describe the situations by writing down sentences on an answer sheet. These tasks provided the subjects with contexts in which they had to use appropriate articles to refer to new, current, and known referents. The subjects were also asked to judge the grammaticality of 16 sentences which contained grammatical and ungrammatical uses of articles.

Instructional Treatments

The present study utilized an instructional treatment termed 'interaction enhancement (IE).' This is a technique in which the teacher manipulates teacher-student interaction in order to lead learners to focus on linguistic forms without losing the communicative value of task-based instruction. In IE, the instructor provides learners with form-focused feedback to guide them to produce and modify output within the basic framework of strategic interaction developed by Di Pietro (1987). The strategic interaction approach uses scenarios to create contexts in which learners are led to use the target language naturally. For this study, three sets of scenarios were devised by the researcher. Each scenario had Roles A and B. Both roles were set to create contexts in which learners were obliged to use the target form (the indefinite article) to solve a problem provided by the scenario (see Appendix).

Each strategic interaction session consisted of three phases: (1) a rehearsal phase, (2) a performance phase, and (3) a debriefing phase. The first phase, the rehearsal phase, was identical for the experimental groups and the control group. The instructor gave each learner a sheet (Role A or Role B) describing a scenario to be performed, and learners worked in pairs for approximately 10 minutes to prepare for the performance. The scenarios were performed in the class. In this performance phase Roles A and B were all performed by Teacher-Student (T-S) pairs. For each T-S interaction, one student representative was nominated to play a role in interaction with the instructor. In each class, a total of 10 different representatives participated in separate strategic interactions over the course of three training sessions.

For Experimental Groups 1 and 2 the instructor enhanced interaction in order to guide the learners to produce output and modify it when it was ill-formed. The instructor gave the learners intentionally enhanced interactional modifications such as requests for repetition and corrective recasts, responding to the well-formedness of the output. This procedure distinguishes the present instruction from Di Pietro's strategic interaction; the accuracy of communicatively redundant forms is not given priority for correction in Di Pietro's strategic interaction.

The following example illustrates how interaction is enhanced in the modified strategic interaction:

Teacher: And any other problem?
Student: ... I saw rat. <incorrect output>
Teacher: You saw what? <request for repetition (input/output enhancement)>
Student: A rat. <successful modification>
Teacher: Uh-huh, you saw a rat in your room. <recast (input enhancement)>
That's terrible.

In this example, the teacher's request for repetition leads to the student's correct modification of the interlanguage grammar with the indefinite article. The request for repetition has a dual function here; it works as enhanced input to attach a 'flag' to an incorrect use of the NP (input enhancement) and as a facilitator which guides the student to produce modified output (output enhancement). After hearing the student's modified output, the teacher provides a recast by repeating the correct form (input enhancement). From the cognitive perspective, it is assumed that the request for repetition ('the flag') guides the learner to notice the mismatch between his/her current article system and the target system (e.g., Schmidt, 1990). Then the enhanced input leads them to form a hypothesis (or modify the current hypothesis) on the article system and produce modified output in order to test the hypothesis (e.g., Gass, 1988). It should be emphasized here that the instructor enhances both input and output in IE to enable the learner to receive the appropriate amount and quality of input and produce output with optimal timing, both of which are important for L2 acquisition. Output enhancement and input enhancement, therefore, complement each other in together composing the IE treatment.

When the learner does not modify output after receiving requests for repetition twice, the instructor provides a corrective recast which presents a grammatical form using as many segments of the student's sentences as possible.

Unenhanced Interaction

The subjects in the control group also participated in strategic interaction. The interaction for this group, however, was not enhanced. That is, the interactional modifications were provided by 'normally' responding to the comprehensibility and meaning of the subjects' utterances.

Formal Debriefing and Meaning-Focused Debriefing

After performing the scenarios, the instructor reviewed student performance in class. This was the debriefing phase. Experimental Group 1 received formal debriefing while Experimental Group 2 and the control group were provided with meaning-focused debriefing. The formal debriefing was given based on accuracy of target form use. Explicit grammatical explanation on the use of the indefinite article was provided, emphasizing the classification function of the indefinite article (Master, 1990).

Experimental Group 2 and the control group received meaning-focused debriefing after the performance phase of strategic interaction. Meaning-focused debriefing was based on how successfully the intended communication was carried out.

Summary of Instructional Treatments

Experimental Group 1 (the IEF group, n = 31) received the IEF treatment (interaction enhancement plus formal debriefing), involving implicit form-focused feedback and explicit grammar explanation. Experimental Group 2 (the IEM group, n = 30) received the IEM treatment (interaction enhancement plus meaning-focused debriefing), involving implicit form-focused feedback without any explicit grammar explanation. The control group (the NEI group, n = 30) received the NEI treatment (non-enhanced interaction plus meaning-oriented debriefing), involving no formal instruction.[4]

Results

Qualitative Changes in Error Types Triggered by Instruction

Table 1 shows the frequencies of errors made by all the subjects (n = 91) on the pretest. In 20.0% of obligatory contexts for the indefinite article (*a/an*), *the* was inappropriately substituted. Another 41.9% of the contexts requiring *a/an* were filled with the zero article.[5] Table 1 also shows that the subjects occasionally incorrectly used the indefinite article (*a/an*) in definite contexts (occurrence rate = 12.0%) and that 30.3% of the definite noun phrases requiring *the* were filled with the zero article.[6]

Table 1

Frequencies and Percentages of Errors on the Pretest (All Subjects)

INDEFINITE CONTEXT

TASK	OS	OP	WP	GJ	TOTAL
(Obligatory Context)	(669)	(819)	(728)	(728)	(2944)
*the	119	142	121	207	589
(%)	17.80%	17.30%	16.60%	28.40%	20.00%
*0	377	401	195	261	1,234
(%)	56.40%	49.00%	26.80%	35.90%	41.90%
CORRECT RESPONSE	173	276	412	260	1121
(%)	25.90%	33.70%	56.60%	35.70%	38.10%

DEFINITE CONTEXT

TASK	OS	OP	WP	GJ	TOTAL
(Obligatory Context)	(679)	(1092)	(819)	(637)	(3227)
*a/an	46	121	70	151	388
(%)	6.80%	11.10%	8.50%	23.70%	12.00%
*0	389	383	118	88	978
(%)	57.30%	35.10%	14.40%	13.80%	30.30%
CORRECT RESPONSE	244	588	631	398	1,861
(%)	35.90%	53.80%	77.00%	62.50%	57.70%

N = 91

OS = Oral Story Description Task
OP = Oral Picture Description Task
WP = Written Picture Description Task
GJ = Grammaticality Judgment Task

Errors on the Post-Test.

Table 2 displays the frequencies and percentages of errors and correct responses by the IEF, IEM and NEI groups on the pretest and the post-test. The table shows that in the IEF group, all errors, except overuse of *a/an in definite contexts, were greatly reduced after instruction. The most salient improvement was their avoidance of overgeneralization errors with the zero article. For instance, only 14.0% of indefinite contexts requiring the indefinite article were filled with the zero article (47.0% on the pretest), and in only 10.8% of definite contexts was the zero article incorrectly used (34.4% on the pretest) by the IEF group. Chi-square tests were performed to determine whether there were significant differences between the frequencies of the overgeneralized zero article in indefinite and definite contexts on the pretest and on the post-test. The results revealed that there were significant differences (for indefinite contexts, $X^2 = 17.85$, df = 1, $p < .01$; for definite contexts, $X^2 = 11.76$, df = 1, $p < .01$).

Overuse of the definite article was also reduced in the IEF group. Only 11.0% of the total NPs requiring the indefinite article were overgeneralization errors with the definite article (20.2% on the pretest). A chi-square test was performed to determine whether there was a significant difference between the frequencies of overgeneralized definite articles on the pretest and those on the post-test for the IEF group. Though the difference was observable (20.2% vs. 11.0%), it was not statistically significant ($X^2 = 2.61$, df = 1, *n.s.*).

Incorrect use of the indefinite article was not reduced after the treatment (10.3% on the pretest -- 11.4% on the Post-test 1, $X^2 = 0.05$, df = 1, *n.s.*). This might be because instruction targeting the indefinite article led some of the IEF subjects to overuse (i.e., overcorrect) **a/an* in non-obligatory contexts.

These results suggest that the IEF treatment had (1) a significant effect on learner restricting of overgeneralized errors with the zero article, (2) an observable effect on learner restricting of overgeneralized errors with the definite article, and (3) no effect on learner restricting of overgeneralized errors with the indefinite article.

Among the IEM group, overgeneralization errors with the zero article were also reduced, as shown in Table 2. For instance, only 25.5% of indefinite contexts requiring the indefinite article were filled with the zero article (44.1% on the pretest) and in only 20.3% of definite contexts was the zero article incorrectly used (31.8% on the pretest) by the IEM group. Chi-square tests were performed to determine if there were statistically significant differences between the frequencies of overgeneralization errors with the zero article on the pretest and on the post-test. The results indicated that there was a significant difference for the indefinite contexts ($X^2 = 4.63$, df = 1, $p < .05$), and that there was a trend toward significance for the definite contexts ($X^2 = 2.77$, df = 1, $.05 < p < .10$). These results suggest that the IEM treatment was effective in helping L2 learners correct for overgeneralization of the zero article in indefinite and definite contexts.

It must be noted, however, that the IEM group overgeneralized the indefinite article in definite contexts more on the post-test than on the pretest (12.4% on the pretest; 17.4% on the post-test). Such overgeneralization errors were especially prominent in the oral story description task (5.3% in the pretest, 25.3% in the post-test). This may be because the elicitation task in this case was similar in mode of performance (i.e., the oral mode) to the task used in the training sessions. This result suggests that for the IEM group, who received implicit form-focused instruction *without* explicit grammar explanation, the instructional treatment seems to have had a detrimental effect on the learners' performance with definite noun phrases. That is, the treatment seems to have caused 'overcorrection'; the IEM treatment had an excessive, or negative, impact which led the learners to overuse *a/an* in definite contexts. Unlike the IEM group, there was no significant increase in the number of overgeneralization errors with the indefinite article among the IEF group (10.3% on the pretest, 11.4% on the post-test) as reported above. This suggests that the explicit grammar explanation the IEF group received helped prevent the learners from overgeneralizing the indefinite article.

Table 2

Frequencies and Percentages of Errors and Correct Responses on the Pretest and the Post-Test

	Indefinite Context				Definite Context			
	*the	*0	CR	OC	*a	*0	CR	OC
IEF Group (n = 31)								
Pretest(f)	198	462	322	982	111	370	594	1,075
(%)	20.20%	47.00%	32.80%	—	10.30%	34.40%	55.30%	—
Post-test (f)	112	143	764	1,019	127	120	869	1,116
(%)	11.00%	14.00%	75.00%	—	11.40%	10.80%	77.90%	—
IEM Group (n = 30)								
Pretest(f)	178	433	371	982	133	342	601	1,076
(%)	18.10%	44.10%	37.80%	—	12.40%	31.80%	55.90%	—
Post-test(f)	189	251	546	986	189	221	679	1,089
(%)	19.20%	25.50%	55.40%	—	17.40%	20.30%	62.40%	—
NEI Group (n = 30)								
Pretest(f)	213	339	428	980	144	266	666	1,076
(%)	21.70%	34.60%	43.70%	—	13.40%	24.70%	61.90%	—
Post-test(f)	216	427	395	1,038	137	384	640	1,161
(%)	20.80%	41.10%	38.10%	—	11.80%	33.10%	55.10%	—

CR = Correct Responses
OC = Obligatory Contexts

Table 2 shows what types of errors the NEI group, which received unenhanced interaction, made after instruction. No significant differences were found between error frequencies on the pretest and the post-test ($X^2 = 0.93$, df = 3, *n.s.*). This suggests that the control treatment did not trigger qualitative changes in the use of articles.

Table 3 summarizes Chi-square tests on the frequencies of correct responses (pretest versus post-test) for all groups. The results suggest that (1) the IEF treatment was effective in helping L2 learners restrict their overgeneralization errors with both the indefinite article and the definite article, (2) the IEM treatment may be effective for helping learners restrict overgeneralization errors with the indefinite article, but the effect of the treatment did not extend to restricting overgeneralization with the definite article, and (3) the NEI treatment was not effective for restructuring of the English article system.

Table 3

Results of Chi-Square Tests on the Frequencies of Correct Responses (Pretest x Post-Test)

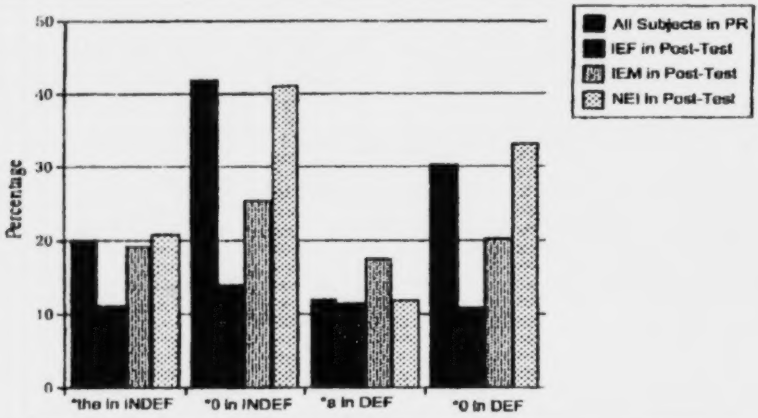
	Percentages of Correct Responses on the Pretest	Percentages of Correct Responses on the Post-Test	X^2
IEF Group			
INDEF	32.80%	75.00%	16.52**
DEF	55.30%	77.90%	3.98*
IEM Group			
INDEF	37.80%	55.40%	3.11†
DEF	55.90%	62.40%	0.31 n.s.
NEI Group			
INDEF	43.70%	38.10%	0.44 n.s.
DEF	61.90%	55.10%	0.42 n.s.

INDEF = Indefinite Context
DEF = Definite Context

** $p < .01$
* $p < .05$
† $.05 < p < .10$

In summary, analyses of the qualitative changes in errors made by the experimental and control groups revealed that (1) the IEF and IEM treatments successfully helped learners reduce overgeneralization errors with the zero article in both indefinite and definite contexts, (2) the IEF treatment had a positive effect on the subjects' restricting of overgeneralization errors with the definite article, (3) the IEF treatment had no observable effect on the subjects' restricting of overgeneralization errors with the indefinite article, (4) the IEM treatment misguided a number of subjects to overuse the indefinite article in

Figure 1. Percentages of the incorrect uses of English articles on the pretest and the post-test



PR = Pretest
DEF = definite contexts
INDEF = indefinite contexts

definite contexts, and (5) the NEI treatment had no significant effect on the subjects' development of the article system. These changes triggered by instruction are summarized in Figure 1.

Discussion

Results of this study suggest that providing form-focused feedback during an interactive communicative task is effective for guiding L2 learners to modify their interlanguage systems. Error analyses revealed that L2 learners who received IE treatments, in which a teacher provided learners with form-focused feedback during a communicative task (strategic interaction), decreased overgeneralization errors with zero article in indefinite and definite contexts. The positive effects of focus-on-form instruction may be due to the fact that such a treatment makes the connections between forms (articles) and functions (indefiniteness) more salient. Making form-function connections salient is important because recognizing these connections is a cognitive process necessary to L2 learners' internalization of linguistic knowledge. This study confirms the claim that formal instruction provided within meaning-oriented instruction is beneficial for L2 learning.

This study also reveals that a communicative task involving both implicit and explicit form-focused instruction helps L2 learner develop their interlanguage systems better than a communicative task involving only implicit form-focused instruction, or a communicative task involving no form-focused instruction. This suggests that implicit form-focused instruction plays a greater role in L2 acquisition when it is provided together with explicit grammar instruction. That is, the data suggest that explicit grammar explanation and implicit form-focused instruction work effectively when they are combined. This finding has implications for how L2 teachers conduct grammar instruction.

The finding that explicit grammar instruction has a positive effect on L2 development is also important from a theoretical point of view because whether explicit instruction is beneficial for L2 acquisition has been one of the most heatedly debated issues in L2 research. While Krashen (1984) and other researchers claim that explicit grammar instruction plays little role in L2 acquisition, recent studies have produced results in favor of explicit instruction (e.g., Robinson, 1996). The results of this study suggest that explicit instruction plays a significant role in L2 acquisition when it is given to learners together with a task which strengthens form-function connections.

The finding that focus-on-form instruction involving only implicit form-focused feedback (i.e., IEM) induced more overgeneralization errors with the indefinite article, which was the direct target of the instruction, is also of importance. The treatment had a positive effect in reducing overuse of the zero article, but had a detrimental effect in reducing overuse of the indefinite article. As the IEF group, who received both implicit form-focused feedback and explicit grammar explanation on the English article system, did not significantly increase their overgeneralization errors, it is likely that the explicit form-focused treatment had some role in nullifying this negative effect. This is another support for the claim that explicit instruction can play a significant, positive role in L2 acquisition.

Another important finding is that the impact of IE treatments targeting the more marked indefinite article was projected onto the acquisition of the less marked definite article, which was not the direct target of the instruction. This suggests that instruction in marked features facilitates the acquisition of unmarked features when these features are implicationally related with each other.

Conclusion

This study confirms the importance of the integration of form-focused instruction into meaning-oriented instruction. The data presented in this paper particularly indicate that providing explicit grammar instruction and implicit corrective feedback in a complementary manner brings about beneficial effects on developing L2 learners' interlanguage systems. They also suggest that form-focused instruction provided within the framework of communicative language teaching makes form-function connections more clear to L2 learners and, therefore, facilitates L2 development. Along with the claim that task-based instruction, which has obtained great popularity, may not contribute sufficiently to grammatical competence (Loshky & Bley-Vroman, 1993), the results of this study encourage L2 teachers to incorporate treatments that lead learners' attention to linguistic forms into their communicative language teaching in an appropriate and timely manner. In short, the data obtained in this study clearly indicate that guiding learners to focus on form within communication-focused instruction is possible and definitely profitable.

Notes

[1] Doughty and Williams (1998) claim that it will be best to avoid the term *form-focused instruction* altogether in discussions of focus on form because it is ambiguous in meaning. In this study the term is used to refer to instruction which intentionally leads learners to attend linguistic forms within the basic framework of communicative language teaching. That is, 'form-focused instruction' is a component of 'focus-on-form instruction.'

[2] Quantitative analyses and other findings on the impact of the treatments are reported in Muranoi (1996, in preparation).

[3] See Ellis (1997) and Doughty and Williams (1998) for comprehensive reviews of effect-of-instruction studies.

[4] Quality and quantity of all interactions between the teacher and each representative during the performance and debriefing phases were analyzed. Results of these analyses revealed that there was no significant difference in the frequency of teacher requests for repetition and learner modifications between the IEF and IEM groups ($X^2 = 0.104$, df = 1, *n.s.*).

[5] In this study, the use of the zero article in non-obligatory contexts was classified as overgeneralization of the zero article rather than lack of emergence of the indefinite article or the definite article because the subjects were able to use the indefinite and definite articles in certain limited contexts at the onset of this study. That is, the indefinite and definite articles were used by the subjects prior to instruction, but their uses were limited due to the overgeneralization of the zero article.

[6] Analyses of errors on the pretest also revealed that learner performance with English articles varies depending on elicitation tasks. Analyses of the effect of task type on learner performance are reported in Muranoi (1996).

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Appendix

Scenario Example

Scenario 2

Role A (student): You rented a one-bed room apartment last week. ... You have found some problems with the room as described in the following pictures. Complain to the agent about the problems and tell him/her to offer you a better room.

Role B (real estate agent): One of your clients has complained that he/she does not like the room which he/she has rented recently. There is no other room suitable for the client. ... Persuade the client to stay in the room.

Chapter 3

A Task that works for Negotiation of Meaning

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Abstract

This study examines whether non-native speakers of English (NNS) who share the same first language negotiate with each other in their second language (L2) to a comparable extent that NNSs negotiate with native speakers (NSs) of the L2. The interaction was elicited through jigsaw tasks, which have been claimed to maximize opportunities for negotiation of meaning. Coded negotiated interactions between NNS-NNS dyads (N=30) were compared with those between NNS-NS dyads (N=40) in two ways: quantity and quality of negotiated interaction. Analysis of the data revealed that: (1) NNSs negotiated significantly more in NNS dyads than in NS-NNS dyads; (2) NNSs provided more negative input in NNS-NNS dyads than in NS-NNS dyads; (3) there was no significant difference in input modification between NNSs in NNS dyads and NS-NNS dyads; and (4) there was no significant difference in target like second language production between NNSs in NNS-NNS dyads and in NS-NNS dyads. Taken together, the results revealed that sharing a first language in the foreign language classroom can make a positive contribution to student's SLA.

Introduction

This study has a dual motivation: the first is concerned with pedagogical practice and the second is concerned with extending research into the role of interaction in SLA. The motivation for this research topic derives from several years of experience in teaching ESL to NNSs both in Japan and in the U.S. In Japan, the Ministry of Education has attempted to improve English teaching in secondary school by employing NSs of English from the U.S., the U.K., Australia, and other countries to teach communication skills, and by sending Japanese teachers of English to the U.S. and the U.K. in order to improve their teaching and language skills. The Ministry has explained its rationale for attempting to teach English to NNSs as the need to develop their communication skills (Ministry of Education, Science and Culture 1989). Despite this new emphasis, language classrooms in secondary and higher education have continued to be structured around teachers who are expected to supply necessary information for learners to memorize and to ask questions that reinforce what the they have taught, and students who are expected merely to listen to the lecture and to answer their teachers' display questions. For non-native teachers who have generally learned what they know of the target language in similar classroom settings, drills, pre-planned exercises and discussions of grammatical structures are much simpler to deal with than group-oriented activities, where teachers must monitor learners' spontaneous use of the language. Teachers are not convinced that they can make students practice talking with other students in the L2, since they themselves most likely experienced little success in becoming active participants, interacting with other NNSs of the same first language (hereafter L1), when they were learners. Thus the major motivation for this study is to establish the usefulness of NNS-NNS interaction, and the forms in which it is most valuable.

Furthermore, L2 learners have been instructed in traditional classroom structures for most other subjects, such as math, science, and social studies, where only perfect answers to questions have been considered positive contributions to the classroom learning process. Hamada and Nakagawa (1993) claimed that Japanese student "passivity" is more likely a result of institutional patterns, i.e., being socialized into a particular form of classroom behavior and interaction, rather than shyness or a lack of confidence. Because of these experiences, learners cannot actively interact with teachers or other NNSs in group-oriented activities even when they are encouraged to do so.

Even in the U.S., according to Tomizawa (1990), Japanese adult ESL learners have been observed as being inactive in oral interaction in English both in and out of the classroom. Through interviews with six Japanese adult ESL learners and a questionnaire given to 112 learners, Tomizawa (1990) found that Japanese NNSs have yet to be convinced that talking to other NNSs, especially to those who share the same L1, could provide any help with each others' SLA.

A second motivation for this study grew out of what has been found in empirical studies on the role of interaction in SLA. Empirical evidence with respect to group-oriented activities has shown that NNSs have a better chance to practice language skills if they work in groups or in pairs rather than with NSs or teachers, since they have more opportunities to talk (see for example, Long, Adams, McLean, and Castaños 1976; Long and Porter 1985; Porter 1983; Varonis and Gass 1985). In addition, some studies have noted the effectiveness of communicative activities and group work in providing NNSs with opportunities for interaction (See for example, Doughty and Pica 1986; and Pica and Doughty 1985a, b). Although few in number, these studies support the idea that communicative activities can increase the number of opportunities to talk.

However, the correlation between increased amount of talk and successful SLA was first questioned by Long (1980), who claimed that perhaps it is not interaction per se, but rather the kind of interaction that occurs, that is more significant to SLA. According to Long (1980), this kind of interaction does not occur when communication flows smoothly, but rather when communication among participants breaks down and they attempt to repair it. Long called this process "negotiation"; later, this was defined by Pica (1988: 72) as exchanges aimed at avoiding communication troubles and at repairing them when NNSs and speakers of the second language work together toward mutual comprehension by clarifying, modifying, and repeating their production.

The following example was given by Pica (1988: 73) to illustrate this process. As shown in Example A, Pica described that the NNS "asked the NS to clarify or confirm message meaning by making a direct request such as 'what?' or by repeating, with rising intonation, all or part of what they heard."

Example A

NNS	NS
	what does his brother do?
what? (clarification request)	
	what work does his brother do? (rephrasing)
my brother? (confirmation check)	
	his brother--your friend's brother (repetition and rephrasing)
yeah--eh mechanic	

Pica (1988) claimed that negotiation is especially helpful if the NNSs are to understand and use linguistic and sociolinguistic rules of the second language. For instance, as in Example B provided by Pica (1988), the NNS was given an opportunity to improve his production by the NS's response to the NNS's check on message comprehensibility.

Example B

NNS	NS
and I have to live in the hospital about--about uh one year, yeah	
	you--you will have to do this in the future? (clarification request)
yeah	
	or did you already? (clarification request)
I was there already (repetition)	
	oh you were there already (repetition)
when I was two years old I lived in the hospital (repetition and rephrasing)	
	I see

Pica (1987) and, Pica and Long (1986) initiated the inquiry into the connection between negotiation and kinds of activities. They claimed that both the quality and quantity of negotiation are affected by the way in which the responsibility for providing necessary information is distributed to each participant. Follow-up studies by Pica and Doughty (1985a, b) and Doughty and Pica (1986) found that certain types of activities elicited more negotiation than others. Pica, Kanagy and Falodun (1994) reviewed the literature on the effect of types of communication tasks (hereafter CTs) on negotiation and successful second language learning and reported the type of task which promotes the greatest opportunities for NNSs to negotiate is one in which the following four requirements are present.

1) each participant has a different portion of information which must be exchanged and used to accomplish the task outcome;
2) all participants are required to request and provide this information to each other;
3) participants have the same or similarly focused goals; and
4) only one acceptable outcome is possible from their efforts to reach their goals.

Of the five different types of CTs (jigsaw, information-gap, problem-solving, decision-making and opinion-exchange) that they categorized, Pica et al. (1994) claimed that jigsaw tasks generate the most opportunities for NNSs to negotiate unfamiliar input and modify their interlanguage toward greater input comprehension.

Numerous researcher who have looked at NNS-NNS negotiation have claimed that through their interaction, NNSs can provide themselves with an opportunity to receive necessary information about the L2, which they have made comprehensible through negotiation (for example, Brooks 1991; Gass and Varonis 1985; Rulon and McCreary 1986; Varonis and Gass 1985; White 1989). Disturbingly, however, Varonis and Gass (1985) found that the more participants share the language background (e.g. same L1 and/or proficiency), the less negotiation there would be.

Varonis and Gass' (1985) finding is discouraging to those who teach or learn in the environment where all or most of the NNSs share the same L1 and a similar proficiency level. Therefore, it is important to conduct a study to explore whether Japanese adult NNSs of English negotiate with each other in the target language to a comparable extent that Japanese adult NNSs negotiate with NSs of the target language. A suitable context for such an investigation is the jigsaw task, which has been claimed to maximize opportunities for negotiation of meaning.

The study

The present study attempts to address four questions.

1) Do NNSs negotiate less in NNS-NNS dyads than in NS-NNS dyads?
This was motivated by Varonis and Gass (1985) finding that the more participants share the language background (e.g. same L1 and/or proficiency), the less negotiation of meaning will occur.

2) Do NNSs provide each other with more negative input in NNS-NNS dyads than NSs provide in NS-NNS dyads?
This was motivated by studies on NSs. vs. NNS, in which NNSs corrected

each other more often than NSs corrected NNSs (Chun, Day, Chenoweth and Luppescu 1982, Day Chenoweth, Chun, and Luppescu 1984; Pica and Doughty 1985a, b).

3) Is there any difference in the quantity of input modification between NNSs in NNS-NNS dyads and NS-NNS dyads?

This was motivated by Doughty and Pica's finding (1986) that NNSs' modified input was not affected by their interlocutor's L1, whether the latter were NSteachers or other NNSs.

4) Is there any difference in target like second language production between NNSs in NNS-NNS dyads and in NS-NNS dyads?

This was motivated by a comon pedagogical concern that the researcher has repeatedly heard from both English monolingual and bilingual instructors: that target-likeness of NNSs' modifications is influenced by interlocutors' L1.

The Subjects

All NNSs in NNS-NNS dyads and in NNS-NS dyads were selected from pre-academic ESL programs at four universities in the USA. NNSs were matched according to a number of variables. These included: Language background (all NNSs were Japanese Ll speakers who were born and raised in Japan), proficiency level (scores ranging between 400-500 on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL)), age (18 years or older), length of residence (less than 12 months of stay in the US), and gender.

Of the total of fifteen NNS-NNS dyads, five were male-male (M-M), five female-female (F-F), and five male-female (M-F). I compared these NNS-NNS data with the data from the study undertaken by Pica, Holliday, Lewis, Berducci, and Newman (1991)[1]. In this study, there were 20 NNS-NS dyads, five were female NNS-female NS, five male NNS-male NSs, five male NNS-female NSs, and five female NNS-male NSs.

While the mean of the NNSs' TOEFL score in NNS-NNS dyads was 450.3, that of the NNSs in NNS-NS dyads was 455.2. The average age for all the NNSs participated in this study was 23. The average age for the NSs was 25 and they had never interacted with NNSs doing jigsaw tasks.

Experimental Procedures and Instructions

Letters of request for assistance were distributed to Japanese students in ESL programs at the universities and college mentioned above. Prior to performing the tasks, each subject was provided with a written set of instructions as well as an oral explanation of how to carry out the tasks, so that NNSs in each dyad were able to carry out their tasks in an empty classroom without being observed by the researcher. The participants of each dyad sat across a table facing each other. A Manila folder was placed horizontally in the middle of the table so that each participant was not able to see the content of given pictures that the other partner had in his/her side. Prior to beginning jigsaw tasks, a simpler version of each task was given for practice. At this time NNSs were told that the researcher would assist them in any way in order to help them become familiar with these tasks. Also during this time, speaking to the researcher in Japanese was allowed. However, once subjects had finished the practice versions of tasks, they were reminded by the researcher that they needed to interact in the L2. Subjects were assured that they were not being tested. When they asked the purpose of the study, subjects were told that the occasion was a chance for them to carry out some classroom activities of interest to the researcher as potential material for a new ESL textbook. Each dyad was informed that there was a tape recorder on the desk and that they would be audio-taped using lapel microphones. The researcher was not present during their performance of the remaining tasks.

Task

All subjects in the study participated in dyads, each engaging in a jigsaw task. In this study, both participants in dyads replicated the order of an unseen master picture sequence (shown in Appendix 1). A sequence of houses was used for the data collection. Each participant in a dyad was given the following: 1) five pictures (out of ten available), and 2) a portion of the master sequence (where all ten pictures are in place) showing the partner's squares in sequence. The participants in each dyad took turns describing the features and sequence of the partner's picture squares on their master and positioning their own five squares according to the oral description given to them. The dyads were audio-recorded and all utterances were later analyzed by the researcher.

Transcription[2] and Data Coding[3]

Two frameworks for data coding are found in the negotiation studies; one used by Gass and Varonis (e.g. 1985) and one by Pica (e.g. 1987; Pica, et al. 1991). With regard to negotiation exchanges, both groups of researchers used similar coding. But since some of the results of the present study were to be compared to the results of Pica et al. (1991) on NS-NNS interactions, Pica's coding system was chosen for use in this study. This system was considered to be most appropriate to this study, since it was designed for analysis of negotiated exchanges by NS and NNS interlocutors.

Negotiation of meaning moves were assigned to three major categories: 1) trigger; 2) signal; and 3) response. In the course of negotiation, both the NNS and the interlocutor can ask for assistance to clarify, confirm, or reiterate of the other's utterance, which, Pica et al. (1991) argued, serves as a signal in the negotiation sequence. Pica (1991) makes a clear distinction between the functions of these signals, as shown in Example C.

Example C

NNSs:	NSs:
(1) what is chimney?/signal	okay, with a big chimney/ trigger
	chimney is where the smoke comes out of/ response
(2) and tree with stick/trigger	
	you mean the tree have branches?/ signal
yes/response	
(3) around the house we have glass/ trigger	
	you have what?/signal
uh grass, plants and grass/response	

When produced by an NS interlocutor, signals such as "you mean the tree have branches?" in (2) and "you have what?" in (3) function as Schachter's (1983,1986) 'negative input' and provide opportunities for NNSs to modify their response toward what Swain (1985) calls 'comprehensible output' (shown as "Responses" in the excerpt, such as "chimney is where the smoke comes out of" in (1)). When produced by NNSs, signals such as "what is chimney?" in (1) function as cues to the NS interlocutors that they must repeat or modify their output to make it more comprehensible.

Utterances

Utterances in all transcribed data are counted by using Crookes's criteria (1988), which were also used in Pica et al. (1991). According to Crookes (1988: 149):

> an utterance is defined as a stream of speech with at least one of the following characteristics:
>
> 1) it is under one intonation contour,
> 2) it is bounded by pauses, and
> 3) it constitutes a single semantic unit.

The following examples illustrating these criteria were taken from Pica et al.'s (1991) data; utterance divisions are indicated by a slash (/).

1) under one intonation contour,
    big? / how big?/ (therefore, two utterances)

2) bounded by pauses, and
    hm hmm / (pause) the s the middle part is 2 inches (therefore, two utterances)

3) constituting a single semantic unit
    oh high it is high a long ways and down okay/ and on the left

side of the page about half way down the middle there's a circle about the size of a ping pong ball/ (therefore, two utterances)

Inter-Rater Reliability

In order to achieve a satisfactory inter-rater reliability (which should be more than .90) between this study and Pica et al.'s (1991), the present researcher had one of the researchers involved in the Pica et al. study serve as independent coder. Through a series of codings, the researcher and the independent coder achieved a satisfactory inter-rater reliability (.91).

Statistical test

A chi-square test for the 2 x 2 contingency would be most appropriate as a statistical test for this study, because:

1. More than one group of scores is involved;
2. Two variables are involved;
3. The dependent variable is not continuous (i.e., not a series of categories); and
4. The independent variable is not continuous (Kaplan 1987: 303-305).

Results

Question 1: Do NNSs negotiate less in NNS-NNS dyads than in NS-NNS dyads?

Question 1 was tested by counting and comparing the number of signal and response utterances per total number of utterances across the NNSs' dyads and comparing them with the number of signal and response utterances from NNS-NS dyads. As shown in Table 1, the results of this study are contrary to the findings of Varonis and Gass (1985). When NNSs did jigsaw tasks, they negotiated significantly more with each other than with NSs (20.70 vs. 11.97: $X^2=80.12$, df=1 , $p<.001$).

Table 1

Dyads	Signals and responses		Others Utterances		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
NNS- NNS	449	20.70	1720	79.30	2169	100
NNS- NS	407	11.97	2994	88.03	3401	100

Question 2: Do NNSs provide each other with more negative input in NNS-NNS dyads than NSs provide in NS-NNS dyads?

Question 2 was tested by counting the frequency and proportion of each NNS production of signal utterances, in their interaction with each other vs. with NSs. As shown in Table 2, proportionately more signal utterances were found in NNS-NNS interaction than in NNS-NS interaction (10.60% vs.

4.83%: $X^2 = 45.85$, df = I , $p < .001$). The proportion of NNSs' negative input to each other in this study was significantly greater than that of NSs' negative input in NNS-NS dyads.

Table 2

Dyads	Signals		Others		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
NNS- NNS	230	10.60	1939	89.40	2169	100
NS in NNS- NS	93	4.83	1832	95.17	1925	100

Question 3: Is there any difference in the quantity of input modification between NNSs in NNS-NNS dyads and NS-NNS dyads?

Question 3 was tested by counting the frequency and proportion of each NNS modified response utterance and by comparing amounts and types of responses within both types of interaction. As shown in Table 3, it was found that as measured by the proportion of modified vs. unmodified utterances, the amount of modification in NNS-NNS interaction was similar to the amount that occurred among other NNSs in NNS-NS interactions (X^2=2.03, df=1, n.s).

Table 3

Dyads	Modified responses		Others		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
NNS- NNS	112	51.14	107	48.86	219	100
NNSs in NNS- NS	39	42.86	52	57.14	91	100

Question 4: Is there any difference in target like second language production between NNSs in NNS-NNS dyads and in NS-NNS dyads?

Question 4 was tested by comparing the frequency and proportion of each NNS's production of target-like L2 modified utterances, in their interaction with NNS partners vs. with NS partners. As shown in Table 4, it was found that there was no significant difference in the number of non-target like utterances even at the .05 level (X^2=0.27, df = 1 , n.s).

Table 4

Dyads	Target-like		Non-target-like		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
NNS- NNS	93	83.04	19	16.96	112	100
NNSs in NNS- NS	34	87.18	5	12.82	39	100

Discussion

The results of the data analysis revealed significant differences NNS-NNS and NNS-NS dyads in the quantity of negotiation on the same jigsaw task, in favor of NNS-NNS dyads. This result is particularly important to those who study or teach second languages in classrooms where all or most of NNSs share the same L1. This study has established that placing NNSs who share the same L1 together to work in the L2 did not produce negative results in an experimental setting. The participants in this study were NNSs who shared the same L1 and had relatively similar proficiency in the L2, and who worked independently with only instructions and materials, i.e., without the presence of teachers or researchers. Although it is not always common in a Japanese traditional classroom to have dyadic interactions among NNSs, it is at least possible to note that NNSs who share the same L1 can work together to assist each other's second language learning.

In terms of negative input in the negotiation produced by NNSs, there was also a significant difference between NNS-NNS and NNS-NS dyads, again in favor of NNS-NNS dyads. In other words, NNSs took more opportunities to tell each other that what they had heard was not comprehensible than they did when they interacted with NSs. This result is important again for teachers and NNSs in a classroom where all or most of the NNSs share the same L1. Who gives negative input to whom about the incomprehensibility of initial utterances is not important; the significant fact is that a process is established by which one partner can and does give negative input to the other partner. More importantly, NNSs can potentially give other NNSs more negative input than NSs do, providing opportunities for NNSs to modify their own utterances.

With regard to the quantity of modification, there was no significant difference between NNS-NNS dyads and NNS-NS dyads. This result is also important to those who teach NNSs who share the same L1. Teachers who teach in an L2 classroom where all or most NNSs share the same L1 are concerned with the language output from group work. In this study, there was no negative effect on modification produced by NNSs who share the same L1. Whether or not the NNSs can modify their L2 does not depend on their sharing an L1, but on the negotiation process that provides them with opportunities to modify their initial utterances.

With regard to the quantity of target-like L2 modifications, there was no significant difference between NNS-NNS dyads and NNS-NS dyads. In other words, when interacting with NNSs who share the same L1, NNSs still modify their initial input toward more target-like input as much as they do with NSs. Again, this confirmed the initial claim that modifications made by NNSs did not become less target-like than their original utterances.

Conclusion and implications

Before drawing conclusions and suggesting some implications of this study, it is necessary to state certain limitations of this research. First of all, the data was derived from arranged conversational interaction in a quasi-experimental setting in a second language context. The subjects were not in their classrooms and each dyad performed the CT in a room without the presence of the researcher or of their teachers. Thus the findings of this study may not be generalizable to dyadic conversational interaction among NNSs of the same L1 in different environments, such as the classroom, or in experimental settings in a country such as in Japan. Secondly, the sample size (30 for NNS-NNS dyads and 40 for NNS-NS dyads) was relatively small when compared with research in other social science fields, although it was larger than in previous research on negotiation.

Nevertheless, even given its limitations, this study has provided preliminary answers to major questions concerning dyadic interactions among NNSs who share the same L1. Hopefully, these findings will serve to help foreign language teachers overcome their reservations about CTs, and become more comfortable with using these activities in classrooms. The result clearly showed that with regards to quantity, NNSs negotiated not only as much as NS-NNS dyads but also significantly more than NS-NNS dyads. This result provided both additional evidence to support previous research on negotiation among NNS-NNS dyads in general, and preliminary evidence that NNS-NNS dyads who share the same L1 work together effectively on the communicative tasks claimed to maximize negotiation. Through working on the communicative tasks, NNSs were capable of indicating their difficulties in understanding each other's utterances, and of responding to these utterances by clarifying, modifying and repeating their utterances. Confirming the initial finding of Doughty and Pica (1986) concerning NNSs of different language backgrounds; the Japanese learners in this study demonstrated the their capability to modify their L2 does not depend on to whom they talk, but rather on the negotiation process that provides them with opportunities to modify their initial utterances

This study has focused on the question of the role of dyadic interaction and communicative tasks among the NNSs sharing the same L1 in second language learning. A considerable amount of further research in this area is necessary. Future study might well consider other interlocutor variables, such as socio-economic status, age, length of stay in a country where L2 is spoken, and types of dyads. Also, using NNSs from different language backgrounds such as Chinese or Spanish, or from different ethnic backgrounds, may reveal different results, as Japanese are often said to be more passive in dyadic interaction than other ethnic groups. Similar studies could be done in a foreign language environment such as in Japan, in both experimental and actual classroom settings. Since nonverbal feedback cannot be studied on without video or very close contextual notes, these methodological refinements should also be included in future research.

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Notes

[1] I would like to express my appreciation to Teresa Pica, Lloyd Holliday, Nora Lewis, Domenic Berducci, and Jean Newman for assisting me in transcribing the data used in the research.

[2] Transcription Conventions and Symbols are in Appendix 2.

[3] Examples of coded transcriptions for Jigsaw task are in Appendix 3.

Appendix 1

Task Instructions

(adapted from Pica, Holliday, Lewis, Berducci and Newman 1991)

1. Turn on the recording button of the tape recorder.

2. Introduce yourselves and take a few minutes to get acquainted with one another.

3. Do the activities by following your instructions and packet numbers.

4. Before going to the next packet, put everything back into each envelope and the packet and put the packet in the box.

5. When one side of the tape ends, turn off the recording button, turn over the tape and turn on the recording button again.

Jig-Saw Task

The House Puzzle activity:

Student A and Student B:

1. **Place a screen between the two of you.**
2. Take **Packet # ________: Houses.**
3. Take out the large envelope labeled **MASTER** and put it in a place where you can't see it.
4. This envelope contains a **master puzzle of 10 houses**, side by side, in one row.
5. Take out the small envelopes labeled **Houses A** and **Houses B**.
6. **Student A** must take the **Houses A** envelope.
   Student B must take the **Houses B** envelope.

7. Keep your envelopes behind your side of the screen.

Do not look at each other's envelopes.

8. **Student A and B:**

Remove the contents from your envelope. Do not let each other see them.

Your envelope contains the following:

(1) a sheet of paper with 5 of the 10 houses from the **master puzzle**.

The houses on your sheet are the exact opposite of the houses on your partner's sheet.

(2) 5 small squares of the 5 houses that are in your partner's puzzle.

The diagram on the right shows the difference between your --> envelope and your partner's envelope.

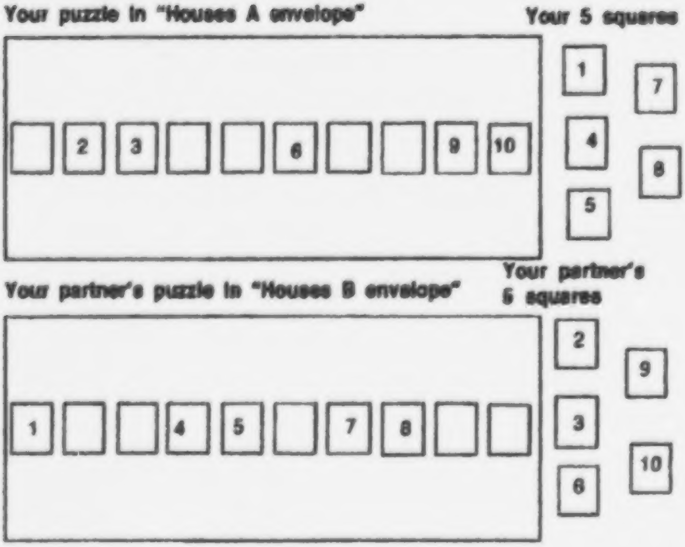
9. **Student A and B:**

Each of you must place your 5 squares of houses next to the other houses in your puzzle so that your puzzle matches the **master puzzle** in the large **MASTER** envelope.

To do this, you need to take turns telling each other
(1) what the 5 houses in your part of the puzzle look like
(2) and what houses they are next to in your puzzle
so that your partner can
(3) pick up the correct loose square
(4) and place it in the row of houses.

You can ask each other as many questions as you want. However, you cannot look at each other's puzzle or squares of houses and you cannot open the master envelope until you are finished.

The diagram


Your puzzle in "Houses A envelope"
Your 5 squares
2
3
6
9
10
1
7
4
8
5
Your partner's puzzle in "Houses B envelope"
Your partner's 5 squares
1
4
5
7
8
2
9
3
10
6

Jig-Saw Task 1=10 Houses from Pica et al. (1991)

Appendix 2

Transcription Conventions and Symbols
(adapted from Long 1980)

1. Speech by Ls who were assigned as A appears on the left-hand side of the page, and speech by Ls who were assigned as B on the right.

2.	Capitalization	Clearly Japanese utterances
3.	?	Rising intonation.
4.	(??)	Unintelligible speech.
5.	(words)	A possible word for incorrect word used in the context, translation for Japanese, or extra-linguistic context such as opening an envelope.
6.	(number)	Pause of this number of seconds.
7.	.	Period after a word indicates the end of an utterance.
8.	word-word	Self-interruption (if followed by speech by the same speaker).
9.	:h	Inbreath.
10.	h:	Outbreath.
11.	word:	Sound held (prolonged). Each colon indicates one second.
12.	word	Extra stress, emphasis, volume.
13.	Ah huh, Uhuh	Expression of understanding or agreement.
14.	M, Mm?	Expression of lack of understanding?

Appendix 3

Examples of coded transcriptions for JigSaw

	JGSW 1 CT			
	Yoshitaka	Taizo		
	11A	11B		
	Male	Male		
	Direction			
	<--			
			*Ng	Others
#				
1	Gee (5.0)/ too many house/			
2		Yeah (5.0)/ okay/		
3	okay let's start ah/			
4		from right side or left side?/		
5	ah left left side/			
6		yeah I have a house that is located/		
7	yeah/			
8		first left side (2.0)/ that house is made of wood like a made of wood/		
9	made of wood yeah/			
10		and has one garage/		
11	Yeah I got it/			
12		yeah/		
13	(3.0) so/			
14		what about next house/		
15	ah:: next house is a: (5.0)/ ah:: (5.0)/ s si small very small windows ah: six small windows/			
16		uhuh/		
17	a::nd door is ah: right side ah::/			
18		uhuh/		
19	in front of house is a si sa:: /			
20		a kind of bush or a garden?/		
21	yeah a garden yeah/			
22		yeah I got that house/ What is/		
23	next to (5.0)/ that house is a color is ah:: white/ a::nd six windows and one one door/ ah:: have ah:: two two stair/			
24		ah where is one door?/		
25	What?/		1	2
26		where is the door?/		3
27	Ah:: it 's the left side/			
28		left side and (2.0)/ what about color of ceiling ceiling/		
29	ceiling ceiling color is ah black/			

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30		yeah yeah I got that house (2.0)/ a::nd and the next to that house is just has first floor /and one two three four four big windows and one small window/ and the door is located in the center of the house/ and has two stairs/		
31	has two stairs?/		2	2
32		ah I mean two step of stairs/ a actually one stair/		3, 3
33	oh I got it/			
34		yeah?/		
35	yeah next to /			
36		yeah/ next one is ah:: I say it's ah:: very this house shape is very strange /and (2.0) like this house has like a garret or something like that/ and (2.0) one two three (3.0) four five six/ actually this house has ah six windows and one door/		
		and one door is cen is located in the center of the house /and this house is actually white/ and the color of this house ceiling is/		
37	yeah/			
38		white (2.0)/ ah black line over the white color/		
39	oh::/			
40		in it (3.0)/ like this house is this house's shape is (3.0)/ ah::m this house is (5.0) organized a lot of triangle shape/		
41	(3.0) ah:: ah yeah HAI (yes)/ I got it/			Japanese
42		you got that?/	3	2
43	yeah (3.0)/ ah next house next house is ah:: (3.0) ah I think SREE (three) windows on one door/ ah the door is right side/			3
44		uhuh/		
45	ah:: (5.0) ah beside the door /			
46		uhuh/		
47	have a small small hole (3.0) ah/			
48		yeah/		
49	I don't know small hole or small window maybe/			
50		yeah/		
51	ah (3.0) ah:: house house color is ah black and white/			
52		uhuh/		
53	ah (3.0) you got that/			
54		what about what about floor?/ It's/		
55	ah two two s floor two floor/			
56		uhuh/		
57	yeah and (3.0)/ yeah two/			

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58		(3.0) maybe is (3.0) next to that one is ah ah just ah just a first flaa (floor) just first floor/		
59	yeah/			
60		and this house has like a (3.0) like a small small room on the ceiling?/		
61	yeah/			
62		you GARROT (?) in it /		
63	uhuh/			
64		has small like a GARADAN (?)/		
65	(??)/			
66		in front of the house / and the door/		
67	uhuh/			
68		is located on the right side of the house/		
69	ah I got it/			
70		ah:: yeah you got it?/		
71	yeah/			
72		and the next to the (??) is black house just ah black/		
73	yeah/			
74		and one two three (3.0) three four five five big windows/ and door is on the center of the house/		
75	ah I got it /			
76		you got that?/		
77	yeah I see (3.0)/ so next to ah three three floor have ah three floor/			
78		uhuh/		
79	ah there is ah right side/ and (3.0) that house has ah five windows/ And the color is a black/			
80		yeah/		
81	almost black/			
82		yeah/ I understand that (3.0)/ and the last one is/		
83	last one is ah (3.0) ah:: (2.0) almost similar but ah ah two floor /			
84		uhuh/		
85	and (3.0) color is black/ and ah (5.0) ah (2.0) that house/			
86		and and maybe that house has ah two small rooms on the ceiling/		
87	yeah/			
88		isn't it?/		
89	yeah/			
90		yeah/ I got that/ I understand it/ it is finished/		
91	it's finished/		4	2
92		yeah so/		3

*1:Ng=Negotiation number

*2: Signals are coded as "2" and responses are coded as "3."

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Chapter 4

Noticing Output and its Effects on Learner Production

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Abstract

This paper reports the effects of having learners focus on their output in the form of transcripts of their production from a discussion task. Participants analyzed their output under conditions of correcting grammatical forms, rewriting sections for clarity of meaning, and rewriting sections for clarity of meaning with output enhancement in the form of corrections of their grammatical errors. Measures of accuracy, complexity, and fluency were used to compare changes from the first discussion task to the second. While no statistically significant differences were found between the groups, interesting improvements for accuracy were noted for the groups focused on forms, however, with drop in their level of fluency.

INTRODUCTION

One of the major theoretical issues confronting second language acquisition (SLA) researchers is that of learner consciousness. The question is whether language learners need to consciously focus on the linguistic code of a language for acquisition to occur, or can acquire a language merely through comprehension of meaningful input. Furthermore, concerning implications of the theoretical basis for teaching languages, the issue of conscious focus on form implies the question of the degree to which awareness of the linguistic code can be manipulated within the language classroom to create a context whereby learning can be effected through manipulating the learners' attention to the linguistic code.

Applying findings from first language acquisition studies (Brown, 1973) and SLA studies (Dulay & Burt, 1973) which found invariable orders for morpheme acquisition, Krashen (1985) advanced the Monitor Theory (MT). Krashen (1985) advances five hypotheses in MT: (a) the claim of the Acquisition-Learning Hypothesis is that 'acquisition' is a subconscious process while 'learning' is conscious; (b) the Natural Order Hypothesis argues for a predictable order for the acquisition of linguistic form; (c) the Monitor Hypothesis places the learned system in the position of acting only as an editor under conditions of time, focus on form, and knowledge of grammatical rules; (d) the Input Hypothesis bases acquisition on language that is understood, comprehensible input, at one stage beyond the learner's current stage; (e) the Affective Filter Hypothesis holds affective factors like motivation and anxiety responsible for blocking comprehensible input from becoming intake. Though MT has met with criticism (McLaughlin, 1978; Gregg, 1984; Schmidt, 1981, 1983), it has also had a significant impact on language pedagogy as it contributed to the popularity of communicative language teaching (CLT) in which language is used for meaningful communication with almost no attention being drawn to linguistic form.

Krashen's view that all that is needed for language learning is comprehensible input has been questioned in the light of empirical research on immersion programs in Canada. Observational studies of classrooms which were almost entirely communicatively based found similar grammatical errors across learners (Spada & Lightbown, 1989), and even after years spent in communicatively based immersion programs students continued to exhibit morphological and syntactic errors (Harley & Swain, 1984; Lyster, 1987). These findings have led Swain (1984, 1985) to argue that comprehensible input is not sufficient if the goal is for the learners to reach native-like performance levels. Central to this problem is that learners can bypass syntax when they retrieve the meaning from the comprehensible input. Swain (1985) notes that even Krashen (1982) agrees with this view as she quotes him as stating, "In many cases, we do not utilize syntax in understanding - we often get the meaning with a combination of vocabulary, or lexical information plus extra-linguistic information (p. 66)" (p. 249).

In an attempt to understand the reasons for the failure of comprehensible input in immersion classes, Allen, Swain, Harley, and Cummins (1990) conducted an observational study which found that student responses in immersion classes were very short, quite rare, and they received no systematic error correction. This led them to hypothesize that only when learners are pushed in their output will they acquire more formal aspects of the linguistic code. In discussing the importance of output, Swain (1995) hypothesizes three functions that relate to accuracy of language production:

(1) the 'noticing/triggering function, or what might be referred to as its consciousness-raising role

(2) the hypothesis testing function

(3) the metalinguistic function, or what might be referred to as its 'reflective' role. (p. 128)

Using Swain's metalinguistic function of output as a framework, Donato (1994) was able to show important increases in target-like use when learners reflected on their own language production. Further support for the metalinguistic function was found by Lapierre (1994) for learners who were instructed to consciously reflect on their output as they reconstructed a dictogloss.

THE STUDY

The present study looks at the effects of having learners reflect on their own output. Students worked together to analyze their output from a discussion task as they talked about the form, the meaningfulness, or the meaningfulness with enhanced form of their speech production.

The research question under consideration for looking at these effects was: What is the effect of noticing form (NF) versus noticing meaning (NM) versus noticing meaning and enhancement (NE) relative to each other and to a control group as determined by measures of fluency, accuracy, and complexity for Japanese university students in an oral task production? A second research question sought an answer to the question of whether reported awareness of the students' production was related changes in production: Is reported level of awareness of grammatical accuracy, syntactic complexity, and fluency related to pretest-posttest gains in grammatical accuracy, syntactic complexity, and fluency under all conditions?

In order to test the differences between the groups on each of the measures of accuracy, complexity, and fluency, the directional hypotheses were stated as follows:

(1) NM will be equivalent in accuracy to NF, and better than NE and the Control group (NM = NF > NE > Control). This hypothesis reflects Doughty's (1991) findings of no significant difference between Rule Oriented Groups and Meaning Oriented Groups, but a significant difference between both and a control group.

(2) The Control group will be more fluent than NM, NM will be more fluent than NF, and NF will be more fluent than NE (Control > NM > NF > NE). The Control group would not change, but all the other groups would decrease in fluency as the demands of the treatment increased. Consequently, NM is less demanding on fluency than NF, and both are less demanding than NE. This is in keeping with Skehan's (1996) view that fluency may have a tradeoff effect with accuracy and complexity.

(3) NM will have greater complexity than NE, NE will have greater complexity than NF, and NF will have greater complexity than the Control group (NM > NE > NF > Control). There should be a tradeoff effect as in the Foster and Skehan (1996) study so that greater focus on accuracy, especially for NF, will mean less complexity.

And to look at the relationship of reported awareness to changes in production, the following hypothesis was posited:

(4) Reported level of awareness of grammatical accuracy, syntactic complexity, and fluency is related to pretest-posttest gains in grammatical accuracy, syntactic complexity, and fluency under all conditions.

METHOD

Participants

A total of 68 Japanese university freshmen from two universities in Tokyo consented to participate in the study. They were randomly assigned to one of the four treatment groups.

The context of the classes in which these students were studying is important to understanding the rational behind this study. Japanese students have usually studies English for six years before entering university. These studies in junior high and high school are usually very forms focused as the main method is grammar translation with little communicative use of the language in the classroom. Within the university system, however, they may have classes with native speakers of English who take a more communicative approach to language pedagogy. In the English classes I teach, which were the classes participating in this study, there is no focus on linguistic form. All classes are conducted within a communicative approach as the students participate in tasks which require English. This results in an extensive amount of output for the students with a possible positive effect on their fluency. However, there is the possibility that they will improve only in fluency and will not show improvement in acquiring native-like accuracy, similar to the immersion students discussed above. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to examine the effects of focusing students on their own output within the context of their university English classes in which a communicative approach is used.

Materials

The discussion tasks used in this study came from textbooks that were being used throughout the course so as to increase the ecological validity of this study as no major changes were made to the classroom context and the student were very familiar with how to perform the tasks. The two discussion tasks were "Who will be the best teacher?" (Rooks, 1990) and "Who gets the heart?" (Rooks, 1988). These tasks, used in previous research, are discussion tasks in which five candidates with their perspective criteria for a heart transplant or for employment as teachers, depending on the task, are presented to the students. The students discuss and rank the candidates according to what they perceive to be the relevant criteria. The students worked in groups of four. The discussion was limited to a maximum of thirty minutes. All discussions were tape-recorded with a small cassette recorder.

The participants filled out a debriefing questionnaire in Japanese at the end of the second class after all tasks were completed. The questionnaire was designed to measure the participants' awareness of their focal attention on each of the production measures: accuracy, complexity, and fluency, in relation to the effects hypothesized for the present study. Therefore, since the effect of focusing the participants on greater clarity was hypothesized to be more complex utterances, the questions designed to measure complexity were framed to look at the students' focus on the clarity of their utterances. Each measure was looked at with six questions. The questions were scored on a five-item Likert scale. The following are examples of the questions for each measure:

Accuracy: I tried to think about using correct grammar.
Complexity: I tried to be clear about what I said.
Fluency: I spoke slower than I usually do.

Procedures

The study used a pretest posttest format in which the first discussion task, Time 1, was used for baseline data in order to analyze the differences between the groups on the second discussion task, Time 2. Comparisons were also made within subjects on their performance between Time 1 and Time 2. Table 1 show the structure of the study, with the Time 1 task occurring in the first class and the treatment followed immediately by the second discussion task both occurring in the class one week later. The tasks were counterbalanced across time to control for task topics.

Transcripts of the first discussion task were used to prepare the treatment materials for the groups in the four conditions. Prior to the second discussion task, the participants analyzed their production in the form of transcripts from

Table 1. Research Design

	Time 1	One week interval	Treatment Condition: Using transcripts of participants' Time 1 production.	Time 2
Control	Task 1		Control: no treatment, participants only do the two discussion tasks.	Task 2
	Task 2			Task 1
Noticing Form	Task 1		NF: Participants correct grammar errors in their transcript production.	Task 2
	Task 2			Task 1
Noticing Meaning	Task 1		NM: Participants rewrite sections in which the meaning is not clear.	Task 2
	Task 2			Task 1
Noticing Enhancement	Task 1		NE: Same as NM plus participants grammar errors have been corrected and enhanced by the researcher.	Task 2
	Task 2			Task 1

Table 2. Results for Omnibus Multivariate Analysis of Covariance

Test	Value	Approx. F	df	Error df	*p*
Pillai's	.30	1.68	12.00	180.00	.07
Wilk's	.72	1.68	12.00	153.75	.08
Hotelling's	.35	1.66	12.00	170.00	.08
Roy's	.17				

the Time 1 discussion under one of four conditions: Control, noticing form (NF), noticing meaning (NM), and noticing meaning plus enhancement (NE).

The participants in the Control group did not look at their transcripts. They only completed the Time 1 and Time 2 discussions.

The noticing form (NF) group received their transcripts in which two raters had underlined the speakers' grammatical errors. The errors focused on were: articles, third person singular, tense, auxiliaries, plurality, and superlatives and comparatives. These errors types were chosen because they were frequent and they were the types of errors that teachers might focus on. Errors in word choice or order were not marked. Only those errors agreed upon by both raters were underlined. At the beginning of the second class, the transcripts of the first discussion with underlined errors were given to the students in this group. They were instructed to read through their transcripts and discuss and correct as a group their underlined errors. The following is an excerpt from one of the transcripts used in the treatment for the NF group:

t: Sammy Carpenter.
m: because _ _ very young. He have a future. So, so, if he
have a, good health, he, he __ live,
t: He can...
m: He will live _ very, very long time.
t: long, yes, yes.

The noticing meaning (NM) group received their transcripts with sections that were not clear underlined. The two raters had underlined sections, mostly one or two sentences on the transcript, for which a native speaker of English might have asked for clarification during a conversation. The NM group was instructed to discuss and rewrite with greater clarity the sections that were not clear. An excerpt from the NM group treatment transcripts is given below:

d: It's very important thing that, having a children, and
get know the feeling of children. So, yes. He's qualified
with, Mary teacher.
d: Not in, not so good point is, high age, forty-six. So,
a: Highest,
d: highest,

For the noticing meaning plus enhancement (NE) group, the transcripts were marked for clarity in the same way as the NM group. Additionally, the same grammatical errors marked in the NF group were marked, corrected by the raters, capitalized, and highlighted with a yellow highlighting pen. Therefore, their errors were corrected in the form of textually enhanced input. This group, however, received the same instructions as the NM group; they were not specifically instructed to pay attention to the enhanced forms. However, each of the group-of-four students in the NE group asked about the enhancement and were informed that it was corrections of their grammatical errors. An example of the NE group's treatment transcript is presented here:

k: I think so.
y: But if the operation succeedS, will succeed, Sammy
Carpenter will live longer, live the, live THE longest,
among THESE five personS.
y: Peter, Peter.
t: Peter Jacobson, yes. I'm not sure the transplanation WILL

SUCCEED.
k: Ah.

Full transcripts for all groups ranged from four to seven pages of single-spaced text.

For all of the treatment discussions of the transcripts, the participants were instructed to discuss the transcripts as a group in their native language, Japanese, so that they would not be doing a double task of discussing the errors or clarifications and also doing it in their second language.

After the participants completed the 30 minute treatment, the teacher collected the transcripts and the participants started the second discussion task. The participants filled out the questionnaire during the last 15 minutes of class.

RESULTS

Production Measures

The transcripts from both the Time 1 and Time 2 discussion were transcribed and analyzed for the measures of accuracy, complexity, and fluency. The combination of these measures was selected for the present study because research has demonstrated that although accuracy may improve as a result of a certain type of treatment or condition, the improvement may be at the cost of a loss in other areas of production which are equally important to second language acquisition. Skehan (1996) divides the general goal in second language learning of native-like performance into three areas: accuracy, ability to handle one's interlanguage level in performance; complexity, interlanguage system elaboration; and fluency, ability to use the interlanguage in real time. Foster and Skehan (1996) found a tradeoff effect for accuracy and complexity in a study on learner production with planning time. Wendel (1997) also found a tradeoff effect but between accuracy and fluency. All three measures were chosen so as to have a global measure of the participants' production and to ensure that the measures would serve as a check against each other so that if improvement was noted in one area, any effect on the other goals of language learning would be measured.

The measure of accuracy was based on a ratio of error-free T-units to the total number of T-units used by each participant in production. The T-unit for the present study follows Hunt's (1977) definition as "a single main clause (or independent clause, if you prefer) plus whatever other subordinate clauses or nonclauses are attached to, or embedded within, that one main clause. Put more briefly, a T-unit is a single main clause plus whatever else goes with it" (pp. 92-93). The errors used to mark a T-unit as having an error or being error-free are the same as those used in the treatment for the NF and NE groups: articles, third person singular, tense, auxiliaries, plurality, and superlatives and comparatives. Interrater reliability on 10% of the data was r=.98 for T-units and r=.91 for error-free T-units.

The two raters measured complexity as a ratio of S-nodes per T-unit. An S-nodes is defined as a tensed or untensed verb which is functioning as a verb. Infinitives were counted as S-nodes but gerunds and verbs functioning as adjectives were not. Interrater reliability for S-nodes was r=.96.

Fluency was measured using the mean length of pause time, the total pausing time divided by the number of pauses. The raters counted pauses of .05 and above for an interrater reliability of r=.99. Pauses occurring between turns and between utterances with final intonation were not counted. Additionally, filled pauses were excluded from the pause time because if was not clear if they were used as the beginning of the pronunciation of a word or simple turn holding devices.

Statistical Analyses

A Multiple Analysis of Covariance (MANCOVA) was run with the Time 1 data as covariates so as to control for individual differences, the Time 2 measures of accuracy, complexity, and fluency as dependent variables, and the treatment groups as independent variables. All assumptions of MANCOVA were checked and met. There was no significant main effect (Table 2) and, therefore, no reason to look at the univariate tests.

Although there is no overall statistically significant effect, the data still hold some interesting results. The differences can best be seen through comparisons between the groups and across time on the following three graphs.

The key on the right side of each of the graphs shows the line representation for each of the treatment groups. The thin solid line shows the results for the Control group, the dashed line is for the NF group, the dotted line represents the NM group, and the thick dashed and dotted line is the NE group.

Beginning with the measure of grammatical accuracy, the first graph displays the results for the four groups between Time 1 and Time 2. The results for the Control group demonstrate its effectiveness as a control because it exhibits absolutely no change from the first task to the second task. Therefore, there is no practice effect demonstrable for accuracy, and the effects found for the other groups are most likely to be ascribed to the treatment effect of analyzing their previous task production. The effect of most interest for accuracy is on the NF group which discussed and corrected the grammatical errors in their transcripts. The NF group displays a change from .49 error-free T-units per total number of T-units at Time 1 to .68 on the discussion task performed just after the treatment. The NM and NE groups have an almost equal change from .54 to .59 and .53 to .60, respectively. This small change in comparison with the increase for NF can be ascribed to the NM and NE groups' treatment in which they both had to clarify their unclear utterances. Unfortunately, for the NE group it is not clear whether the treatment effect can be ascribed to the treatment of clarification or the enhancement. With the addition of enhancement, it was expected that the NE group would perform at a higher rate of accuracy than the NM group. Because their performance is almost exactly the same, it may be that the participants did not deploy much attention to the enhancement although they were all aware of the enhancement and that it was corrections of their output since the teacher had explained what it was after each of the NE groups inquired about it.

The second graph shows the scores on the measure of complexity, number of S-nodes per T-unit. The scores for the Control group demonstrate again that it is functioning well as a control as there is no change between Time 1 and Time 2. Unfortunately, there is also no change for the NF and NE groups. A slight increase of the NM group may be attributable to no more than chance, especially since the NE group should have increased in complexity as they performed the same task during the treatment. However, the change for the NM group does provide a slight incentive for further research into the relationship between clarification and complexity. Of major interest here are the differences among all of the groups at Time 1. Even though the participants had been randomized to the groups, these differences show that randomization does not ensure equality of groups at the beginning, and, therefore demonstrates the need for analysis with Time 1 data as a covariate in order to control for these differences. Such differences also clearly demonstrate that although students may appear to be at the same language level on one measure, accuracy, they may be producing language that is quite different on another measure, complexity. Therefore, more than one measure of production is necessary if the effects of treatments on language production are to be understood.

The third graph provides data on fluency as measured by the mean length of pauses. The graph is marked so that movement up the scale on the left is indicative of an increase in fluency as the pause time decreases. The Control group has a slight increase in fluency which is either by chance or perhaps a result of a practice effect as the students become accustomed to having their entire group session recorded. The NM and NE groups follow similar patterns to the Control group and, therefore, the treatment does not appear to have had an effect on their fluency. The NF group has a marked decrease in fluency as their pause length increases from the first discussion task to the second.

Although their Time 1 fluency is slower than the other groups, it appears that the demands of the extra attention to accuracy exhibited in the first graph have caused the participants in the NF group to speak slower as they take more time to access and produce forms that are more correct than their first task performance. The tradeoff effect between accuracy and fluency support Wendel's (1997) findings of an accuracy and fluency tradeoff effect.

The participants' responses to the questions on the debriefing questionnaire about their degree of attention to their production were analyzed to see if their was a relationship with gains from the first to the second discussion task in accuracy, complexity, and fluency. Each set of questionnaire responses for participants' reported awareness of attention to accuracy, complexity, and fluency were run in a standard multiple regression analysis in order to determine if any were related to the gains in accuracy, complexity, and fluency from the first to the second discussion task. The questionnaire responses in each set of accuracy, complexity, and fluency were regressed onto the separate gain scores for accuracy, complexity, and fluency. Therefore, three multiple regressions were run, all using the three sets of questionnaire responses, but each separate regression using only one of the gain scores, for example, gains in accuracy.

The results of the multiple regression for gains in accuracy are reported in Table 3. Gains in accuracy were not significantly related to reported awareness of accuracy or fluency. The only statistically significant result was between gains in accuracy and reported awareness of complexity and this was in a negative direction; as the participants improved in accuracy, their reported awareness of complexity decreased. The explanation for this requires a closer look at the questionnaire items. The questions which looked at complexity were

Table 3. Multiple Regression for Accuracy Gains and Questionnaire

Variable	B	EB	Beta	*t*	Sig.
(Constant)	.731	.27		2.74	.01
Accuracy	-6.73	.01	-.08	-.57	.57
Complexity	-2.74	.01	-.33	-2.36	.02
Fluency	4.67	.01	.06	.41	.68

Table 4. Multiple Regression for Complexity Gains and Questionnaire

Variable	B	EB	Beta	*t*	Sig.
(Constant)	-.84	.52		-1.63	.11
Accuracy	7.31	.02	.04	.32	.75
Complexity	1.29	.02	.08	.57	.57
Fluency	2.47	.02	.18	1.12	.27

Table 5. Multiple Regression for Fluency Gains and Questionnaire

Variable	B	EB	Beta	*t*	Sig.
(Constant)	-5.30	.65		-.08	.97
Accuracy	-5.05	.03	-.02	-.18	.86
Complexity	-3.36	.03	-.17	-1.18	.24
Fluency	4.52	.03	.26	1.64	.11

worded to ask about the participants awareness of their clarity because greater clarity in the treatment was hypothesized to lead to more complexity in production. For example, two of the questions were, "I tried to be clear about what I said" and "I used longer sentences that I usually do in order to make my ideas clear". If the participants were focusing on the clarity or meaningfulness of their production, they would have less processing compacity for focusing on accuracy.

The results of the multiple regression analysis for gains in complexity and the questionnaire are reported in Table 4., and for gains in fluency in Table 5. Neither of these runs exhibited any statistical significance. There was no relationship found between reported awareness of accuracy, complexity, or fluency and gains in complexity or fluency.

DISCUSSION

As there were no statistically significant differences found between the treatment groups there is no statistical support for the first three hypotheses. Bearing in mind these results, the hypotheses will be discussed in terms of the raw scores.

The first hypothesis was:

(1) NM will be equivalent in accuracy to NF, and better than NE and the Control group (NM = NF > NE > Control).

There is partial support for the first hypothesis in that NM and NF were not significantly different (See Figure 1.). However, the raw scores show NF scoring higher in accuracy than NM or NE, which are equivalent. NM and NE exhibit little difference from the Control group. There is only slight support for this hypothesis in the NF group scoring higher than NE and the Control. However, as already noted, this is not statistically significant.

There is little support for the second hypothesis.

(2) The Control group will be more fluent than NM, NM will be more fluent than NF, and NF will be more fluent than NE (Control > NM > NF > NE).

The Control, NM, and NE groups performed the same with all demonstrating the same increase. Only the NF group showed a decrease which could be seen as different from the other groups. This decrease, starting at a higher level of fluency than the other groups, could be taken to an indication of the NF group having declined more than the other groups and, therefore, partially supporting this hypothesis as the NF group was hypothesized to be the third lowest.

The third hypothesis is not supportable.

(3) NM will have greater complexity than NE, NE will have greater complexity than NF, and NF will have greater complexity than the Control group (NM > NE > NF > Control).

With all of the groups starting at various levels, the differences at Time 2 are not differences attributable to the treatment. The slight increase in NM indicates some partial support as NM was hypothesized to have the greatest increase and it is the only group showing any increase.

The fourth hypothesis receives partial support from the statistical analyses.

(4) Reported level of awareness of grammatical accuracy, syntactic complexity, and fluency is related to pretest-posttest gains in grammatical accuracy, syntactic complexity, and fluency under all conditions.

The reported level of awareness of syntactic complexity was found to be statistically related to pretest-posttest gains in grammatical accuracy. The other relations were not significant.

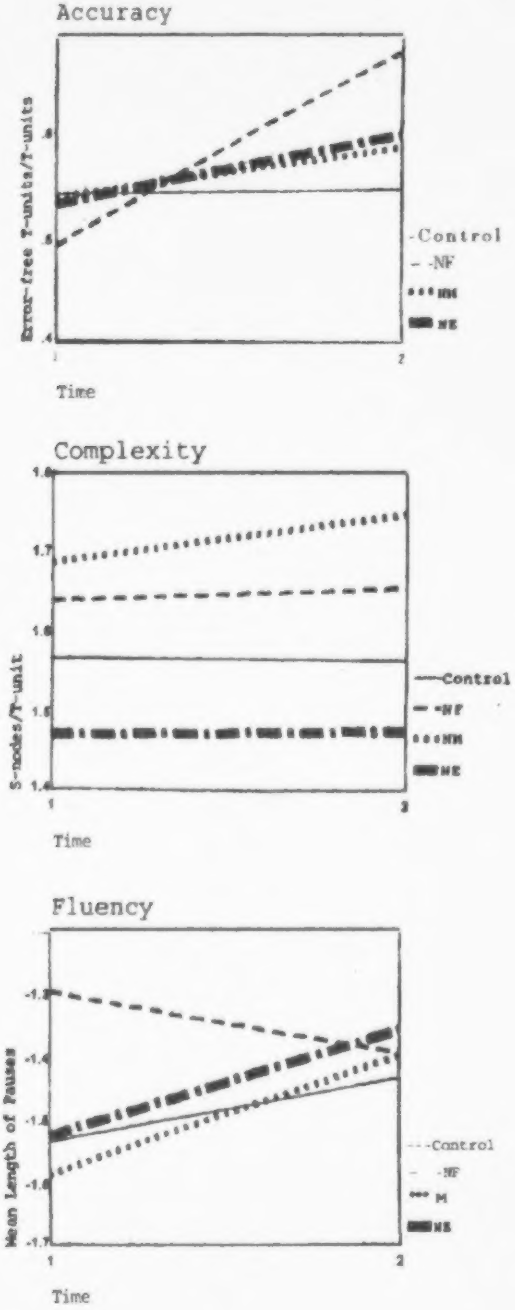
The results provide only very partial answers to the first research question on the effects of noticing form, noticing meaning, and noticing meaning and enhancement. The effects of noticing form for the NF group appeared to be a slight increase in the accuracy of their production with a concomitant decrease in fluency. The were no noticeable effects for noticing meaning (NM) and noticing meaning and enhancement (NE) as they were operationalized for this study.

The second research question sought out the possible relationship between reported awareness and gains. Only a relation between gains in accuracy and reported awareness of syntactic complexity were found. This provides some evidence of a tradeoff effect between accuracy and complexity as found by Foster and Skehan (1996). However, it does not provide evidence for the sought after relationship between accuracy gains and reported awareness of accuracy which might have supported the view that metalinguistic awareness of forms leads to greater accuracy.

CONCLUSION

The procedures for this study demonstrate one way in which students can be helped to focus on the form and meaning of their own output without disrupt-

Figure 1. Production Measures of Accuracy, Complexity, and Fluency



ing the conversational flow of their discussions. Long (1991) suggests that a focus on form syllabus should "overtly draw students' attention to linguistic elements as they arise incidentally in lessons whose overriding focus is on meaning, or communication" (p. 45-46). If form is focused on during the meaningful interaction, there will be a break from the content of what is being discussed. On the other hand, if the discussion is taped, attention can be overtly drawn to form without interrupting the on going dialog. In the case of Long's suggestion, the conversational flow is interrupted. However, with the suggestion of using transcripts presented here, the students may not be able to return in their memory to the context of the forms they used incorrectly. Many of the participants in the NF group commented that they did not remember making the mistakes that were marked in their transcripts and, furthermore, that they felt the errors were of minor importance because they did not interfere with the meaning of their production. Perhaps the students should transcribe short sections of their discussions and then listen to them again as a group rather than using transcripts.

The main results of this study demonstrate that it is possible to affect students' production to some extent through metalinguistic techniques such as having them discuss their own output in the form of transcripts. Additionally, as students' awareness is focused on certain aspects of their production, such as the clarity of their meaning, they may not have processing capacity available for other areas of production such as grammatical accuracy. How teachers choose to try to manipulate their students' production, if the choose to do so, will depend on the three goals of accuracy, fluency, and complexity.

Future research will need to take into consideration the methodological problems in this study in that the treatment was very short. Learning effects are more likely to be found occurring over time rather than as a result of the tasks used in one or two class sessions.

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Chapter 5

Explicit and Implicit Instruction of L2 Complex Request Forms

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Introduction

Every language has its own ways of encoding linguistic politeness, and English has a system in which politeness can be syntactically encoded. In case of requesting in English, for example, a request can be mitigated by making it syntactically more complex by embedding it within another clause. This encoding process yields bi-clausal request forms, such as "I wonder if you could VP." Japanese EFL learners, however, tend to exclusively employ simple mono-clausal request forms like "Would/Could you VP?" in the situations where bi-clausal forms, such as the above, are more appropriate as request forms (Takahashi, 1995, 1996). The Japanese learners apparently believe that mono-clausal forms as formulated above are the most polite request forms in English. My question here is how we can make learners gain more accurate knowledge of politeness in English requesting. One possible way would be to explicitly teach them correct form-function relationship in L2. But there might be some other forms of instruction which enable them to substantially restructure their pragmatic knowledge in their target language. The present study is intended to examine different instructional conditions affecting Japanese EFL learners' learning of English request strategies as formulated with complex bi-clausal forms.

Studies on Effects of L2 Pragmatic Instruction

The question of whether L2 pragmatic features can be acquired without any metapragmatic information is now one of the major concerns of interlanguage pragmatics researchers. We may categorize the studies undertaken in this line of research according to the instructional conditions to be compared: (1) effect of particular teaching methodology; (2) teachability (pretest vs. posttest); (3) metapragmatic instruction vs. "zero" instruction; and (4) explicit instruction vs. implicit instruction. The studies all adopted the pretest-posttest design with or without a control group (see Kasper, 1997, for a more comprehensive overview).

Wildner-Bassett (1984) is one of the pioneer studies in this area of research and belongs to the first category. Wildner-Bassett tried to figure out the efficacy of a variation of Suggestopedia in teaching L2 English gambits and routine formula to speakers of German. Using role plays as the eliciting instruments, she compared this particular method with an eclectic method. The eclectic method was found to be more beneficial and supportive for the learners to learn appropriate use of gambits than Suggestopedia. It should be noted, however, that the subjects in both groups did improve their use of L2 gambits, suggesting a great degree of effectiveness in instruction (regardless of the method) for developing L2 pragmatic knowledge.

The teachability issue was explored by Olshtain and Cohen (1990) and Wildner-Bassett (1994). These two studies successfully indicated that some L2 pragmatic features are indeed teachable. Using the questionnaires as the test measures, Olshtain and Cohen (1990) reported that advanced EFL learners of Hebrew were able to attain qualitative approximation to the NS apology realization in the following areas: types of intensification and downgrading, choice of strategy, and awareness of situational factors. With regard to Wildner-Bassett (1994), the subjects were the beginning-level American learners of German as L2 and were taught German routine formulas and pragmatic strategies (e.g., giving feedback, interrupting, etc.). The analysis of the data elicited from either questionnaires or role plays suggested an overall increase in both the quantity and quality of the use of the target features. Based on this, Wildner-Bassett strongly argued that routines can be taught from the very beginning of L2 instruction.

The studies in the third category showed a greater degree of effectiveness of metapragmatic instruction, compared to the cases in which no such instruction was provided. Billmyer (1990) examined the effect of instruction on the performance of compliments and the responses to compliments by Japanese ESL learners with the high-intermediate level. The tutored group received the explicit metapragmatic information on the target features, whereas the untutored group received no such information at all. The elicited conversations between the subjects and their American counterparts before and after the treatment constituted the pretest and the posttest, respectively. As hypothesized, the learners in the tutored group produced a greater number of compliments and appropriate responses to the American partners' compliments than the untutored group subjects.

In contrast to Billmyer's production-oriented study, Bouton (1994) and Kubota (1995) were concerned with the implicature ability of L2 learners, providing some implications or evidence of the superior role of instruction. Bouton (1994) compared the results of the implicature tests administered to the following two groups of advanced-level ESL learners: the learners whose length of residence (LOR) in the U.S. was 4.5 years and the learners whose LOR was 17 months. Bouton found an increase (though not substantial) in the implicature ability for the 4.5-year group but could not find such an increase for the 17-month group. Though Bouton did not specifically compare instructional environments, his findings did suggest that L2 learners' implicature ability would not improve when it is not deliberately taught.

Kubota (1995) applied Bouton's (1994) research framework to EFL contexts, directly addressing the issue of instruction vs. "zero" instruction. Using the intermediate-level Japanese EFL learners, Kubota actually compared the following three groups: one group for explanations of rules (deductive approach), a group for consciousness-raising tasks (inductive approach), and a group for no treatment. Kubota found that the learners receiving either deductive or inductive instruction showed the performance superior to the uninstructed learners, with some advantage for the inductive group. No subjects, however, could attain the expected generalizations from the treatment when encountering the new items.

In the framework of "explicit vs. implicit instruction," House (1996) and Tateyama, Kasper, Mui, Tay, and Thananart (1997) evidenced a superior effect of explicit metapragmatic instruction (explicit group) to instruction without providing such metapragmatic information (implicit group). In House (1996), for instance, the advanced English learners of German in the explicit group were provided with the explicit metapragmatic information on the following three areas: gambits, discourse strategies, and speech acts. The roleplay data gathered at the pre-/posttest sessions clearly demonstrated that, except in the appropriate responses to the speech acts, the explicit group outperformed the implicit group. Tateyama et al. (1997) also verified the significant impact of explicit teaching. They adopted the multi-method (questionnaires, DCT, role plays, etc.), and the Japanese multi-purpose routine formula 'sumimasen' was taught to the beginning-level JFL learners. The explicit group subjects, who engaged in various explicit metapragmatic activities, showed the superior performance in the target routine formula to the implicit group. As in the case of Wildner-Bassett (1994), Tateyama et al. contended that pragmatic routine formula can be taught to beginners.

The studies reviewed above all suggest that (1) L2 pragmatic features can be taught to some extent; and (2) the target pragmatic features are most effectively learned when they are taught explicitly with some forms of consciousness-raising techniques. Explicit pedagogical intervention is thus considered one of the ways in which the learners can most efficiently develop their pragmatic competence in L2. In the present study, I will examine pragmatic instructional effects to see if such findings are replicated in the context of Japanese EFL learners learning complex English request forms in the framework of explicit vs. implicit instruction.

Instructional Conditions

In this study, I set up the following three instructional conditions: explicit, guided-implicit, and unguided-implicit conditions. The explicit condition is the instructional setting in which metapragmatic information on realizing the target request forms and corrective feedback are provided, and thus it is deductive in nature. In contrast, the two implicit conditions are essentially inductive in that only input containing the target request forms is provided to the learners, without any metapragmatic information or corrective feedback.

Of the two implicit conditions, the guided-implicit condition allows the experimenter to manipulate the input or instruction itself so that the learners can focus more on the target request forms. In the unguided-implicit condition, the learners are forced to pay more attention to the meaning of the discourse containing the target request forms. The present study is thus also motivated by the recent SLA studies exploring the effect of form-focused instruction and input enhancement (e.g., Alanen, 1995; Doughty, 1991; Fotos, 1993; Lightbown & Spada, 1990; Sharwood Smith, 1991, 1993; Schmidt, 1993, 1995; Spada & Lightbown, 1993; White, Spada, Lightbown, Ranta, 1991).[1]

Research Questions

I will address the following three research questions:

(1) Does the metapragmatic information obtained through explicit (deductive) instruction help the learners learn the target request forms to a greater extent than either of the implicit (inductive) conditions with no such metapragmatic information?

(2) Does the guided-implicit condition help the learners learn the target request forms to a greater extent than the unguided-implicit condition?

(3) Is the learner's confidence in formulating request expressions influenced by the types of instructional conditions?

Method

Subjects

The subjects were 108 Japanese university EFL (high-intermediate level) learners, the majority of whom were male students. They were all natural science majors (freshmen or sophomores) with a mean age of 19.4 years (SD = 1.0). They had been studying English for 7 to 10 years in a formal classroom setting. None of them experienced residence in English-speaking countries beyond 2 weeks.

The subjects made up three intact general English classes taught by this researcher. These classes were randomly assigned to the three instructional conditions: explicit, guided-implicit, and unguided-implicit groups. Equivalence of the three groups was further examined based on the subjects' English proficiency measured with Form One of the Secondary Level English Proficiency Test (SLEP).[2] The results of one-way ANOVA performed on the SLEP raw scores showed that there were marginally not significant differences among the three groups in terms of L2 proficiency ($F(2, 95) = 2.773$, $p = .0675$). Some learners were absent from the treatment sessions, failed to take the posttest and/or provided incomplete answers in either/both the pretest or/and the posttest. The data from those learners were then excluded from the analysis.

Design

A quasi-experimental, pretest-posttest design was adopted.[3] Due to the large sample size, discourse completion tests (DCTs) were used to elicit main data in the pretest and posttest sessions. In the posttest, the main data were further supported by the subjects' immediate written retrospection on their cognitive process in making requests in L2. After the posttest, the follow-up retrospection questionnaires were administered to the subjects in the implicit groups to examine whether they noticed the target request forms.

Selection of the Situations and the Target Request Forms

I adopted the situations in Takahashi (1995, 1996) as the target situations to be assessed in the pre-/posttest, but included only the following situation: the situation where English NS supplied (through DCTs) bi-clausal forms as the appropriate request forms. Specifically, this involved the situations of Appointment ("the student asks his professor to reschedule the appointment") and Paper Due ("the student asks his professor to extend the paper's due date"). Both of them manifested a relatively high degree of imposition. Two more situations, the Make-Up Exam and Feedback situations, were considered and were found to be close to Appointment and Paper Due in terms of the degree of requestive imposition. Due to the limit of the space, however, I will report only the results from Appointment and Paper Due in this paper.

As for the input situations for the treatment sessions, they have to satisfy the following two conditions. First, they are sufficiently comparable to Appointment and Paper Due in terms of the situational variables: the request was made from status low to high; and the requester is not so familiar with the requestee. Second, the learners are exposed to the input which is controllable but sufficiently close to authentic discourse. It should be noted here that this study particularly focuses on the differential effects of instruction on the learners' ability to learn the target pragmatic features in more natural discourse where, in reality, only a relatively small number of target forms may be observable. In view of these two points, I chose the two request situations in Takahashi (1987) for the input situations: Violin ("the student asks his older neighbor to stop her daughter's violin practice at night") and Questionnaire ("the student asks his older neighbor to fill out the questionnaire and return it as soon as possible").[4] In my previous study, the two situations were used to elicit L1 requests through roleplays (8 NS-NS dyads for L1 English and L1 Japanese, respectively), which were recorded and transcribed.

With regard to target English request forms, I selected only the bi-clausal request forms which were observed both in the NS DCT data for Appointment and Paper Due and in the English NS-NS roleplay data for Violin and Questionnaire. Those forms are listed in the left-most column in Table 1.[5] They were in fact among the request forms most frequently provided by the NS subjects in Appointment and Paper Due. Consequently, as the input base for the treatment sessions, three English NS-NS roleplay dyads for Violin and three for Questionnaire were used, each of which contained at least one of the above request forms (see Table 1).

Pretest and Posttest

The pretest DCTs contained 12 situations, of which four were the target request situations (Appointment, Paper Due, Make-up Exam, Feedback). The remaining eight situations were distractors, consisting of one chastisement, one apology, two refusals, three requests, and one praise (status low to high, or status equals). The DCTs were open-ended and the situational descriptions were given in English. The subjects were asked to provide appropriate request expressions for each situation. In each situation, they were further asked to rate their confidence in selecting their request expression on a five-point rating scale (1 = not confident at all; 5 = completely confident).

The posttest was intended to assess the subjects' ability to provide appropriate request expressions for the four target situations only. There were two parts in the posttest packet. In Part 1, the DCTs were provided, followed by the confidence rating scale for each situation (the same format as the pretest). In Part 2, four to five questions were presented, which were for the purpose of eliciting the subjects' self-reports on the process of selecting the request expressions provided in the DCT (see Appendix A). The subjects were asked to carry out the written retrospection (in Japanese) immediately after providing the request expression in each situation.

In both pre-/posttests, the situations were counterbalanced across the subjects. Both of them were conducted in class without setting a time limitation. The pretest was administered one month prior to the treatment (in order to eliminate the pretest effect on the treatment), and the posttest was conducted one week after the treatment.

Treatment Materials and Procedures

The treatment sessions were offered over the four weeks (90 minutes per week). All the treatment tasks were carried out in the general English classes. For all the subjects in the three instructional conditions, the treatment was first given to the target request forms in Violin (Session 1) and then to those in Questionnaire (Session 2). Before the main task was presented in each treatment session, all the subjects in the three groups engaged in the following two warming-up tasks: (1) listening to the input roleplay for Violin or Questionnaire while reading the transcripts; and (2) writing a summary of the situation (in Japanese) by focusing on the contextual features, in particular, the relationship between the interlocutors.

For the explicit group, two types of treatment materials were prepared for each session. One was the handouts in which detailed metapragmatic information on the target request forms was provided.[6] The other was the composition exercise packet, in which Japanese-English translation exercises using the target request forms were provided.[7] I explained the target request forms using the handouts for about one class hour (90 minutes) for each session. Care was taken to refer to the actual use of the target request forms in the discourse (roleplays) and their function in the particular requester-requestee relationship (i.e., the status low to high, the large social distance). The explanation was immediately followed by the 30-minute composition exercises in each session.

The guided-implicit group received three types of material in each session. The first were three NS-NS roleplay transcripts for Violin (Session 1) and three such transcripts for Questionnaire (Session 2). The second was one NS-NNS (the Japanese learners of English performing L2 request) roleplay transcript for Violin and Questionnaire, respectively, which was collected in Takahashi and DuFon (1989). The third was the instruction sheet for the tasks (Tasks A and B) for this group (see Appendix B). In Task A, the subjects were instructed to compare the NS requesters' English in the transcripts with the NNS requester's English in the same situations. They were then asked to list the NS expressions which are distinctive from the NNS English expressions. Note that the NNS requesters exclusively used the mono-clausal request forms ("Would/Will you VP?" for Violin and "I want you to VP" for Questionnaire), which were predominantly used by the subjects in the present study in the pretest. As far as the request forms were concerned, then, the subjects in this group were more likely able to project their own use of request forms onto the NNS requests in Takahashi and DuFon (1989). Task B was a distractor task; the subjects were asked to look through the English expressions made by the NS requestees in the transcripts and list any expressions which were distinctively native English of which they thought they had no command at all. The subjects completed the tasks for each session in about 1.5 class hours (120-130 minutes).[8]

The unguided-implicit group subjects were required to undertake a focus-on-meaning task in each session. Accordingly, I prepared the comprehension questions packet for each of the six NS-NS roleplay transcripts for Violin (three) and Questionnaire (three). Each packet contained 6 to 8 comprehension questions, including the questions directly addressing the contents of the requests. The subjects were asked to carefully read the roleplay transcripts for the Violin (Session 1) and Questionnaire (Session 2) and then to answer each question in English. The subjects completed the task for each session in about 1.5 class hours (120-130 minutes). For the guided- and unguided-implicit groups, no feedback on the target request forms were provided until the subjects completed the follow-up questionnaires (see below).

Follow-Up Activities

In order to elicit the information on whether the subjects in the two implicit conditions actually noticed the target request forms in the roleplay transcripts, I prepared the follow-up questionnaires. The questionnaires were administered one week after the posttest, followed by the explanation of the function of the target request forms to those subjects (see Appendix C).

Data Analysis

The situation-base data analysis was adopted for the pre-/posttest results. For each situation (Appointment and Paper Due), the number of the subjects who provided the target request forms in the posttest was compared with that of the subjects who supplied non-target request forms in the posttest. The significance of the difference in frequency counts was determined by the Chi-square procedure (a = .05). With regard to the confidence rates, a two-way repeated measures ANOVA was performed: the dependent variable was the confidence rates and the independent variables were the test types (two levels, a within-subject factor) and the instructional conditions (three levels, a between-subject factor) (a = .05). The findings were further examined using the self-report data obtained in the posttest and the follow-up data gathered after the posttest.

Results and Discussion

Quantitative Aspects of Instructional Effects

The obtained L2 request realization data were coded by two raters (this researcher and another linguist) based on the types of request strategies established in Takahashi (1995). The inter-rater reliability (percentage of agreement) reached .97. The results of the pretest showed that none of the subjects employed target bi-clausal request forms for either Appointment or Paper Due. The great majority of subjects favored either preparatory questions (e.g., Would you change the appointment?) (Appointment = 45%; Paper Due = 42%) or mood derivables with 'please' (e.g., Please change the appointment) (Appointment = 28%; Paper Due = 45%) (see Table 2) (see Appendix D for the definition of each request strategy). Hereafter, each instructional group will be referred to as follows: "Explicit" for the explicit group, "G-Implicit" for the guided-implicit group, and "U-Implicit" for the unguided-implicit group.

With respect to the posttest results (see Table 3), for both Appointment and Paper Due, the target request forms were provided by Explicit to a greater extent than either of the implicit groups; and a significantly smaller number of Explicit subjects provided the non-targets than the targets ($X^2 = 7.26$, df = 1, $p < .01$ for Appointment; $X^2 = 12$, df = 1, $p < .001$ for Paper Due).[9] In contrast, G-Implicit and U-Implicit provided more non-targets than the targets in both situations. These two implicit groups also provided more non-target forms than Explicit. In fact, the differences in frequency counts for the non-target forms were significant both between Explicit and G-Implicit ($X^2 = 9.63$, df = 1, $p < .01$ for Appointment; $X^2 = 11.12$, df = 1, $p < .001$ for Paper Due) and between Explicit and U-Implicit ($X^2 = 14.69$, df = 1, $p < .001$ for Appointment; $X^2 = 16.53$, df = 1, $p < .001$ for Paper Due). However, there were no significant differences between G-Implicit and U-Implicit in terms of the number of non-targets for either Appointment ($X^2 = 0.46$, df = 1) or Paper Due ($X^2 = 0.5$, df = 1).

When we looked more closely at the concrete realization patterns for the target forms, it was found that the subjects who provided the targets predominantly used the "I wonder if you could VP" form for both Appointment (82%) and Paper Due (79%) (see Table 4). (Note that one U-Implicit subject who successfully provided the target in the posttest used this particular form.) In fact, the difference in frequency counts between "I wonder if" and the other target forms was significant: $X^2 = 7.68$, df = 1, $p < .01$ for Appointment; $X^2 = 7.04$, df = 1, $p < .01$ for Paper Due. The possible explanation would be that the input frequency of "I wonder if" surpassed the other targets, and, accordingly, I focused more on this form in the treatment session for Explicit.

As for the non-target forms supplied after the treatment, no change was found for the realization patterns. As in the case for the pretest, the great majority of subjects who could not supply the target forms relied on the use of either the preparatory questions (Appointment = 62%; Paper Due = 65%) or the mood derivables with 'please' (Appointment = 25%; Paper Due = 28%) (see Table 5).[10]

With regard to the confidence rates, for each of the two situations, the main effects and the interaction effect were found to be significant (see Tables 6 and 7). In particular, the significant interaction effect demonstrated that the factors of "test types" and "instructional conditions" jointly influenced the learners' confidence in supplying a request form (see Figure 1). A one-way repeated measures ANOVA was further performed with a planned comparison between the pretest and posttest confidence rates for each condition. For both situations, Explicit and U-Implicit significantly increased their confidence in the posttest though their posttest means were still below 3.0 (out of 5.0): $F(1, 26) = 7.581$, $p < .05$ for Explicit in Appointment (Mean = 2.407, SD = 1.01); $F(1, 30) = 15.424$, $p < .001$ for U-Implicit in Appointment (Mean = 2.903, SD = .870); $F(1, 26) = 35.124$, $p < .0001$ for Explicit in Paper Due (Mean = 2.741, SD = .859); $F(1, 28) = 6.943$, $p < .05$ for U-Implicit in Paper Due (Mean = 2.931, SD = .961). In contrast, G-Implicit even decreased their confidence in the posttest for Appointment. However, the difference in confidence rates between the pretest and the posttest for Appointment (as well as Paper Due) was not significant ($F(1, 23) = 3.286$, $p = .083$ in Appointment; $F(1, 21) = 1.091$, $p = .3080$ in Paper Due). As in the case for Explicit and U-Implicit, the posttest mean of G-Implicit was still below 3.0 (Mean = 2.542, SD = .779 for Appointment; Mean = 2.773, SD = .752 for Paper Due).

From the quantitative perspective, the findings were recapitulated as follows:

(1) The metapragmatic information obtained through explicit (deductive) instruction helped the learners learn the target forms to a greater extent than either of the implicit (inductive) conditions (for Research Question 1).

(2) Neither of the two implicit conditions enabled the learners to learn the target request forms (for Research Question 2).

(3) The learner's confidence in formulating request expressions was affected by the types of instructional conditions (for Research Question 3).

At this point, three questions have arisen, which cannot be answered through the above quantitative analysis. Those are: (1) Did the Explicit subjects really master the choice of request forms?; (2) Why did the G-Implicit and U-Implicit subjects fail to provide the target forms?; and (3) Why did the G-Implicit subjects fail to increase their confidence substantially, as compared to the Explicit and U-Implicit subjects? Those will be examined through the qualitative analysis below.

Qualitative Aspects of Instructional Effects

The written immediate retrospective reports collected in the posttest showed that the learners mentioned either of the following two types of features in their self-report: (1) discourse features only, such as the order of request-related components (explanation (reason/excuse), request, apology, promise for future, etc.); and (2) linguistic features (as well as discourse features), including request forms (targets or non-targets) (see Table 8).[11] Interestingly, a pattern was observable between these self-report contents and the learners' real request performance. The subjects who succeeded in providing the target request forms predominantly referred to linguistic features in formulating their request expressions. In contrast, the learners who provided non-target forms more likely referred to discourse features only. The 2x2 Chi-square procedure confirmed this tendency ($X^2 = 7.578$, df = 1, $p < .01$ for Appointment; $X^2 = 5.759$, df = 1, $p < .05$ for Paper Due). These self-report findings then provide us with a base for addressing the above three questions.

Table 1: Target request forms used in the treatment sessions.

Request Forms	Treatment Situations
I was wondering if you could VP.	VI: Subject Codes D, F
Do you think you could VP?	QU: Subject Code E
Is it possible to VP?	QU: Subject Code C
If you could/can VP.	VI: Subject Code G QU: Subject Codes E, H

Notes: VI = "Violin" situation, QU = "Questionnaire" situation

Table 3. Frequency of request forms at the posttest.

Situations	Conditions	Target Forms	Non-Target Forms
AP	Explicit	21	6
	Guided Implicit	0	24
	Unguided Implicit	1	30
PD	Explicit	23	4
	Guided Implicit	0	22
	Unguided Implicit	1	28

Notes: AP = "Appointment" situation, PD = "Paper Due" situation

Table 2.

Request Forms Provided at the Pretest.

"Appoitment" situation		"Paper Due" situation	
Request Forms	Frequency	Request Forms	Frequency
Preparatory questions (e.g., Would you change the appointment?)	37 (45%)	Mood derivables with 'please' (e.g., Please extend the due date.)	35 (45%)
Mood derivables with 'please' (e.g., Please change the appointment.)	23 (28%)	Preparatory questions (e.g., Could you extend the due date?)	33 (42%)
Want statements (e.g., I'd like you to change the appointment.)	6 (7.5%)	Want statements (e.g., I would like you to extend the due date.)	6 (8%)
Hints (e.g., Since I need to go to the dentist tomorrow, I can't go.)	6 (7.5%)	Hints (e.g., I can't proceed with the term paper.)	1 (1%)
Others	10 (12%)	Others	3 (4%)
Total	82 (100%)		78 (100%)

Table 4.

Target Request Forms Provided at the Posttest.

"Appointment" situation

Request Forms	Frequency
"I wonder if" (e.g., I was wondering if you would change the appointment.)	18 (82%)
"would it be possible" (e.g., Would it be possible to change the appointment?)	3 (14%)
"would it be possible"+ Want statement (e.g., Would it be possible to change the appointment. I want you to do it.)	1 (4%)
Total	22 (100%)

"Paper Due" situation

Request Forms	Frequency
"I wonder if" (e.g., I was wondring if you could extend the due date.)	19 (79%)
"Would it be possible" (e.g., Would it be possible to extend the due date?)	2 (8.5%)
"Do you think" (e.g., Do you think you can extend the due date?)	2 (8.5%)
"if you could" (e.g., If you could extend the due date.)	1 (4%)
Total	24 (100%)

Table 5.

Non-Target Request Forms Provided at the Posttest.

"Appoitment" situation		"Paper Due" situation	
Request Forms	Frequency	Request Forms	Frequency
Preparatory questions (e.g., Would you change the appointment?)	37 (62%)	Preparatory questions (e.g., Please extend the due date.)	35 (65%)
Mood derivables with 'please' (e.g., Please change the appointment.)	15 (25%)	Mood derivables with 'please' (e.g., Could you extend the due date?)	15 (28%)
Want statements (e.g., I'd like you to change the appointment.)	4 (6.5%)	Want statements + Mood derivables with 'please' (e.g., I would like you to extend the due date. Please give me a few more days.)	2 (3.5%)
Others	4 (6.5%)	Others	2 (3.5%)
Total	60 (100%)		54 (100%)

Table 6.

Results of Two-Way Repeated Measures ANOVA: Effects of Instructional Conditions and Test Types on Confidence for the "Appointment" Situation.

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Conditions	9.513	2	4.756	4.522*
Subject (Group)	83.097	79	1.052	
Tests	4.396	1	4.396	10.198**
Tests x Conditions	6.455	2	3.227	7.486**
Tests x Subject (Group)	34.058	79	.431	

Notes: * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$

Table 7.

Results of Two-Way Repeated Measures ANOVA: Effects of Instructional Conditions and Test Types on Confidence for the "Paper Due" Situation.

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Conditions	11.152	2	5.576	5.306*
Subject (Group)	78.822	75	1.051	
Tests	13.723	1	13.723	30.831***
Tests x Conditions	6.848	2	3.424	7.693**
Tests x Subject (Group)	33.383	75	.445	

Notes: * $p < .01$, ** $p < .001$, *** $p < .0001$

Table 8.

Summary of Self-Reports.

		Target Form at the Post test			Non-Target Form at the Post test		
Situations	Report Contents	EX	GI	UI	EX	GI	UI
AP	Including Discourse Features Only	1	0	1	1	11	15
		Total	2		Total	27	
	Including Discourse + Linguistic Features						
	Reference to:						
	Request Forms	17	0	0	2	3	5
	Other Linguistic Features	0	0	0	0	6	1
	Both	1	0	0	0	2	5
	Other	2	0	0	3	2	4
		Total	20		Total	33	
PD	Including Discourse Features Only	5	0	1	0	11	20
		Total	6		Total	31	
	Including Discourse + Linguistic Features						
	Reference to:						
	Request Forms	14	0	0	1	5	4
	Other Linguistic Features	0	0	0	1	1	1
	Both	1	0	0	0	3	3
	Other	3	0	0	2	2	0
		Total	18		Total	23	

Notes: AP = "Appointment" situation, PD = "Paper Due" situation
EX = Explicit Condition, GI = Guided-Implicit Condition,
UI = Unguided-Implicit Condition

Table 9

Results of Follow-Up Task.

Conditions	Features of Noticing	Frequency
GI	Noticed the targets in the input + Realized the appropriate use of the forms + Realized the possible use of the forms in the post-test —> Used the forms in the post-test:	0 (0%)
	Noticed targets in the input + Realized the appropriate use of the forms + Realized the possible use of the forms in the post-test —> Did not use the forms in the post-test:	1 (4%)
	Noticed the targets in the input + Realized the appropriate use of the forms —> Did not realize the possible use of the forms in the post-test:	1 (4%)
	Noticed the targets in the input + —> Did not realize the appropriate use of the fomrs:	9 (38%)
	Did not notice the targets in the input:	13 (54%)
UI	Noticed the targets in the input + Realized the appropriate use of the forms + Realized the possible use of the forms in the post-test —> Used the forms in the post-test:	1 (3%)
	Noticed targets in the input + Realized the appropriate use of the forms + Realized the possible use of the forms in the post-test —> Did not use the forms in the post-test:	3 (10%)
	Noticed the targets in the input —> Did not realize the possible use of the forms in the post-test:	3 (10%)
	Did not notice the targets in the input:	24 (77%)

Notes: GI = Guided-Implicit Condition, UI = Unguided-Implicit Condition

Explicit condition.

In order to examine the level of mastery by the Explicit subjects, I will focus here on the self-reports by the Explicit subjects who provided the target forms and mentioned the linguistic features in their retrospection. They reported that the request forms taught in class (in particular, "I was wondering if you could VP") should be used because they succeed in conveying appropriate degrees of politeness in light of the requester (low status)-requestee (high status) relationship. In view of this, it appears that they were able to generalize what they learned in the treatment session to new comparable situations like Appointment and Paper Due. However, some of them also referred to (and actually wrote down in the DCT) the form "I would like you to VP." According to them, their high-school English teachers emphasized that the modal "would" manifests a greater degree of politeness; and thus they judged that the forms containing this modal should be added to increase the overall politeness.[12] This suggests that the Explicit learners' competence in realizing appropriate request forms is not stable enough at the end of the four-week metapragmatic instruction and may not attain a real change in knowledge (Jourdenais, Ota, Stauffer, Boyson, & Doughty, 1995; Sharwood Smith, 1991). At the same time, the instruction the learners received in their junior- or senior-high-school English classes is still operative and plays a relatively influential role in the learners' restructuring process. Because the delayed posttest was not administered, I cannot comment on a lasting effect of the explicit instruction here. However, in view of the found instability of their competence and the still not-high-enough degree of confidence (Mean = 2.667/SD = .913 for Appointment; Mean = 2.826/SD = .778 for Paper Due), their superiority in performance to the G-Implicit/U-Implicit learners might be short-lived (see Kubota, 1995).

Implicit conditions: Overall.

As the self-report data indicated (Table 8), for both Appointment and Paper Due, only the discourse features were mentioned to a greater extent by the G-Implicit and U-Implicit subjects who failed to provide the target forms. Those subjects in fact reported that their focus was placed on the best sequence of the utterances involved in request realization. For example, they were preoccupied with determining which component should come first in the discourse: apologetic expression, request expression, reason or excuse, and so on. Furthermore, the majority of them considered the formulation of good explanation (of why they cannot carry out the things in question) to be the most important factor to obtain the requestees' compliance.

On the whole, the subjects in the implicit conditions did refer to the request forms (mono-clausal forms) in their self-reports but did not mention the function of the request forms in the discourse at all. Moreover, they reported that they were rather preoccupied with the relevant choice of "words and phrases."

The above observation then provides us with some significant insights into how those subjects perceive the notion of politeness. To them, an appropriate degree of politeness is realized as a result of conveying their sincerity in the form of elaborating the explanation (reason/excuse) in a relevant order of related utterances. It appears that they do not regard the request "forms" as the crucial factors in linguistic politeness any more. This is probably because mono-clausal forms have already been validated by their high-school English teachers as the "appropriate forms." This again suggests the great influence of prior instruction, which strengthened the false form-function mappings in L2 (Takahashi, 1996).

To recapitulate, the G-Implicit and U-Implicit subjects failed to provide the target forms because (1) they paid more attention to the discourse features than request forms as depicted above and (2) the politeness manifested in the mono-clausal forms was already assured. The other possible explanation would be that the treatment input itself was insufficient (Alanen, 1995; Hulstijn, 1989) and thus the subjects failed to trigger restructuring of their pragmatic knowledge. But this implies that it would be hard to learn the appropriate request forms in natural discourse, where the frequency of such forms might be relatively low. In any case, we can definitely conclude that the treatment did not work for the implicit groups. Then, what did they attend to in the treatment input? This question will be addressed below.

Guided-implicit condition.

The analysis of the G-Implicit subjects' NS-NNS comparison (Task A) in the treatment session leads us to observations as to what the subjects focused on in the treatment input (roleplay transcripts). First, eleven subjects (out of 24) listed one of the target forms, "I was wondering if you'd VP." But three of them placed their interest more on the colloquial phrasing "you'd," rather than the function of the entire sentence. Second, the other target forms, such as "Is it possible to VP?" or "Do you think you could VP?," were not listed at all because they had already been familiar with those "forms" themselves though they did not seem to know that they can simultaneously function as requests (see Schmidt, 1990). Third, the subjects more likely pointed out that the NS English sounds more polite (or indirect) than the NNS English. Fourth, the subjects overall showed their interest in colloquial and idiomatic expressions (words or phrases), including some discourse lubricants (e.g., *you know, goodness,* etc.). Fifth, they more likely focused on the content of the explanation (reasons/excuses) for the request and/or its place in the entire discourse developed by the requesters. In sum, almost half of the G-Implicit subjects did notice one of the target request forms, but priority in their focus was actually given to the other linguistic and discourse features in the input. The target request "forms" thus could not be successfully incorporated into their L2 pragmatic knowledge. Recall here that the tendency observed here was also seen in the posttest self-reports examined above.

Schmidt (1993) argues that simple exposure to appropriate input is unlikely to be sufficient for acquisition of L2 pragmatic knowledge. According to Schmidt, this is because (1) the specific linguistic realizations are sometimes opaque to learners and (2) the relevant contextual factors to be noticed may be defined differently or may not be salient enough for the learner (see also Alanen, 1995; Doughty, 1991; Hulstijn, 1989; Sharwood Smith, 1991, for the saliency issue). In the G-Implicit condition, the subjects were not simply exposed to the target input; the input was manipulated or enhanced so that the subjects could focus on the targets. However, the above observations from Task A substantiated all of the points claimed by Schmidt and others.

In addition to the saliency of target structures, some forms of feedback from an NS counterpart in an interaction could also govern the learner's attention to the target form-function relationship. In the present study, the NS interlocutor in the NS-NNS roleplays in Takahashi and DuFon (1989) did not give any negative feedback to the NNS's mono-clausal request forms. This led the G-Implicit subjects to judge that those request forms are still effective enough.

All these indicate that the inductive, enhanced instruction adopted in this study did not yield a sufficient effect on the development of the learners' L2 pragmatic competence (see Sharwood Smith, 1993; cf. Kubota, 1995). Some other instructional enhancement should be explored which heightens the chances of detection of the target forms (Tomlin & Villa, 1994).

Unguided-implicit condition.

The follow-up analysis revealed two important points for implicit/inductive pragmatic instruction (including G-Implicit) (see Table 9).[13] First, some learners under this type of instruction did notice the target forms. Of particular interest are the U-Implicit subjects' comments on why they did not provide the target during the posttest while they noticed them in the meaning-focused instruction: "I noticed the form when reading the transcripts; but when I was asked to write down a request (in the posttest), the first form I came up with in my mind was 'Could you please...'" (translation mine). This again clearly indicates the relatively strong effect of their prior knowledge.

Second, as Table 9 shows, the levels of noticing differ from one subject to another (Robinson, 1997; Schmidt, 1993; Sharwood Smith, 1991). Some subjects noticed both the target form itself and its appropriate function in the discourse, while some others noticed only the target form in the input without exploring its functional meaning. As Tateyama et al. (1997) argues, at the pragmatic level, "focus on form" should be reinterpreted as "focus on form-function relationships" (see also Leow, 1993).

The U-Implicit subject who successfully provided the target form in the posttest reported through the follow-up questionnaire that he noticed the target request form, its functional meaning, and the contextual features relevant to this form. He was thus able to transfer his acquired knowledge to the new situations (Appointment, Paper Due). Then, it could be argued that one can consciously attend to the target form-function relationships even if instruction or input is implicit/inductive in nature (see Alanen, 1995; Robinson, 1997). This further suggests the possible effects of individual differences arising from one's motivation and aptitude on learning pragmatic features (see Alanen, 1995; Robinson, 1997; Schmidt, 1993; Tomlin & Villa, 1994).

Confidence rates.

For both Appointment and Paper Due, the Explicit subjects substantially increased the confidence in supplying the target forms in the posttest. This is understandable because they were explicitly taught what appropriate request forms are. The U-Implicit subjects also increased their confidence in the posttest, but possibly because of a reason different from the Explicit learners. It seems that they felt confident in the posttest because they thought they could gain the mastery of more reasonable discourse structures (e.g., the relevant sequence of request-related components) and could provide the mono-clausal request forms which they perceived to be appropriate enough.

In contrast, the G-Implicit subjects failed to increase their confidence substantially after the treatment. In the treatment training session, they were asked to point out the NS usage distinctive from the NNS. This task might lead them to think that they are expected to master NS-like English during the training. In the posttest, therefore, they might need to show that they could not substantially increase their confidence because they judged that they had not yet attained an NS-level command as expected.

Conclusion

The findings of the present study replicated some of the findings of the previous studies on pragmatic instruction. The target pragmatic features were found to be most effectively learned when they were taught explicitly. Thus, we could claim that providing metapragmatic information on the target features most likely enhance the learners' L2 pragmatic competence. However, the attainment of thorough L2 pragmatic competence under the explicit condition (and its lasting effect) was questionable, suggesting some limitation in teaching pragmatic features in classroom settings.

The results obtained for the two implicit conditions, G-Implicit and U-Implicit, also motivated us to further explore the role of consciousness-raising or input enhancement in developing both linguistic and pragmatic competence in L2. The previous studies of SLA input enhancement (e.g., Lightbown & Spada, 1990; Spada & Lightbown, 1993; White, Spada, Lightbown, Ranta, 1991) showed that the meaning-focused instruction was less effective than the form-focused, consciousness-raising instruction. The meaning-focused instruction in the present study (U-Implicit) in fact proved less effective than explicit instruction. However, the consciousness-raising task carried out in the guided-implicit condition was also found less effective. This all suggests that L2 pragmatic competence cannot be enhanced with positive evidence alone; but before conclusively claiming this point, more research will be necessary. In particular, another condition in which the target input can be enhanced to a greater extent ought to be included in future studies.

Schmidt's (1990, 1993) noticing hypothesis states that conscious noticing is the necessary and sufficient condition for converting input to intake. The learners in the explicit and unguided-implicit conditions who provided the target request forms in fact verified this hypothesis. It could thus be claimed that the noticing hypothesis is theoretically most plausible in accounting for the development of L2 pragmatic competence. But the major implication from the current study is that Japanese EFL learners at the college level most likely fail to detect appropriate form-function relationship in L2 request realization when being exposed to *natural discourse*. They are more likely to attend to discourse features and/or linguistic features at the word and phrase level, rather than to sentence-level pragmalinguistic features. This implies that there might be some linguistic threshold for Japanese EFL learners in noticing some target pragmalinguistic features in discourse. Nevertheless, we may still be able to argue that there are some forms of instructional intervention (explicit or implicit) which help the learners become aware that L2 form-function relationships are also context-dependent.

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Notes

[1] In a parallel study, I have been analyzing four input conditions (the three conditions in this study plus another type of guided-implicit condition) from the perspective of input enhancement, rather than instructional effects.

[2] Only the reading section was used because the main task in the treatment sessions was reading the roleplay transcripts.

[3] The current subjects were accessible during the four-month semester period only; thus, a delayed posttest could not be administered in this study.

[4] There were significant differences among the six request situations (Appointment, Paper Due, Make-up Exam, Feedback, Violin, Questionnaire) in terms of the degrees of requestive imposition: $F(5, 265)=78.208$, $p <.0001$. However, Appointment and Paper Due showed the significantly higher imposition than Violin and Questionnaire, and not vice versa. It was then concluded that inclusion of Violin and Questionnaire as the treatment situations, which shared the bi-clausal request forms with Appointment and Paper Due, was justifiable.

[5] The form of "If you could VP" was decided to be included in this study because it is essentially bi-clausal.

[6] These handouts were prepared based on: Ohsugi, K. (1982). *Deferential English: For better international communication.* Tokyo: Taishukan.

[7] This class was for English composition, and translation exercises dominated the class tasks. Hence, it was judged that this form of exercise was relevant.

[8]The subjects who could not complete the tasks in class were permitted to bring the materials back home to complete the remaining tasks.

[9]When the degree of freedom was less than one, Yate's Correction was applied (Hatch & Lazaraton, 1991, p. 404).

[10]All of the non-target forms here should not be regarded as "inappropriate" forms for the situations. Some subjects employed, for instance, the form of "I'm happy if you could VP." These are acceptable but are not simply the "target" in this study.

[11]The results here are based on the data across the two situations (Appointment, Paper Due).

[12]These self-reports were surprising to me, because I emphasized that "I would like you to VP" form should be avoided when a low-status person asks a high-status person to do something in the treatment session.

[13]The results here are based on the data across the two situations (Appointment, Paper Due).

Appendix A

Questions for Retrospection

(The Case of the "Paper Due" Situation)

(1) の場面に関して (Paper-Due Situation)

設問1： 何故その表現が最も適切であるという結論に達したのですか。あなたの思考の流れを出来るだけ（覚えているだけ）詳しく書いて下さい。（余白が足りない場合は、この用紙の裏を使用のこと）

設問2： 設問1での思考過程で、あなたは日本語を使っていましたか。それとも英語を使っていましたか。

設問3： あなたが選んだ表現は、実際に会話の相手と向かい合った時、必ず使う表現だと思いますか。

設問4： このタスクで、英語で表現することに関し、（言語的）難しさを感じましたか。

Appendix B

Instructions for Treatment Tasks A and B in Guided Implicit Condition

Task A

*ダイアログ - D, E, G*のBethのパートと*ダイアログ - English learner*のSachikoのパートを比較し、学習者の英語には見られない、ネイティヴ・スピーカー独特の（語句・表現等における）英語の運用（使用）法について気がついたことを書き出し

ましょう。

Task B

（2）ダイアログ・D, E, GのMrs. Burnsのパートで、自分なら使えないだろうと思われる Native English の表現や語句を書き出しましょう。

Appendix C
Follow-Up Questionnaire

Target Request Forms

I was wondering if you could～ ⇨ (D-Violin, F-Violin)
(I wonder if you could～)
If you could (can)～ ⇨ (G-Violin, E-Questionnaire H-Questionnaire)
Do you think you could (can)～ ⇨ (E-Questionnaire)
Is it possible that～ ⇨ (C-Questionnaire)
(Would it be possible that～)
(Is it possible to～/ Would it be possible that～)

設問1）演習の時に、これらの表現を、学習者の英語には見られないネイティブ・スピーカー独特の英語運用（使用）法として書き出しましたか。

はい ／ いいえ （該当するものを○で囲む）
⇩ ⇩
設問2へ 設問6へ

設問2）Transcriptに出てきたこれらの表現が、目上の人に対する適切な英語の依頼表現であることに気付きましたか。

はい ／ いいえ （該当するものを○で囲む）
⇩ ⇩
設問3へ 設問6へ

設問3）前回の授業で行ったテストの各場面でも、これらの表現が使用可能であることに気付きましたか。

はい ／ いいえ （該当するものを○で囲む）

⇩　　　　　　　　⇩
設問４へ　　　　　設問５へ

設問４）前回の授業で行ったテストのいずれかの場面で、これらの表現の一部を実際に使用しましたか。

はい　　／　　いいえ　（該当するものを○で囲む）
⇩　　　　⇩
終了　　　⇩

◎『いいえ』と答えた人：　なぜ実際に使用しなかったのか、その理由を説明できれば下の余白に書いて下さい。⇨　終了

設問５）なぜ気付かなかったのか、その理由を説明できれば下の余白に書いて下さい。
⇨　終了

設問６）演習における会話比較分析だけでは、目上の人に対する適切な英語の依頼表現法を修得することは難しいと思いますか。

はい　　／　　いいえ　（該当するものを○で囲む）⇨ 終了

Appendix D

Category of "Request Strategies"
(from Takahashi, 1995)

(S = Speaker, H = Hearer, A = Act/Action)

1. **Mood derivables:** The speaker states a direct, imperative request to the hearer. [e.g., V-shite kudasai ((please) VP)]

2. **Performatives:** The speaker explicitly states the request illocutionary force by using a performative verb ("negau," "ask"). [e.g., V-te kudasaru yoo onegai shimasu (I ask you to VP)]

3. **Obligation (expectation) statements:** The speaker states that the hearer is under some obligation to perform the desired action. [e.g., V beki desu (You should VP)]

4. **Want statements:** The speaker states his/her want or wish that the hearer will perform the desired action. [e.g., V-shite itadaki tai no desu ga (I would like you to VP)]

5. **Preparatory questions** (without mitigated forms): The speaker asks a question concerning the hearer's will, willingness, ability, or possibility to perform the desired action (preparatory conditions). [e.g., V-shite kudasai mase-n ka (Will you VP?)/ V-shite itadake mase-n ka (Would you VP?)]

6. **Suggestion questions:** The speaker asks a question concerning a reason why the hearer will or will not perform the desired action. [e.g., V-

Chapter 6

Literacy as an Anchor for the Spoken Language: Evidence from Adult Attriters of L2 Japanese

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Language loss is experienced by all of us. Whether in individuals or in societies, languages are in a constant state of flux; waxing or waning, progressing or regressing. Language attrition, like language acquisition, is not an endstage of a process, but a normal part of changes in language proficiency over time. (Hyltenstam & Viberg, 1993; Hansen & Reetz-Kurashige, 1999). Thus, the study of language attrition naturally converges with the study of language acquisition , and, as pointed out by de Bot (1999:2), "language attrition is gradually becoming a part of the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA): there are remarkable parallels with respect to the topics studied: the role of cross-linguistic influence, the role of age, the role of individual differences, the role of the language setting and the role of social-psychological factors such as attitudes and motivation in language attrition."

Over the past decade, Japanese contexts have been particularly fruitful for the study of language attrition (For reviews, see Hansen1999a, 2000, 2001). The present study, based on evidence from the learning and subsequent loss of Japanese as a second language, follows in this line of research. As we examine second language retention/attrition in a sample of adult attriters, three sets of variables are potentially relevant: (1) characteristics of the acquisition period, (2) characteristics of the attrition period, and (3) characteristics of the attriters. The present study centers on the effects on language maintenance of a variable in the acquisition period, the attainment of Japanese literacy.

Japanese literacy: Acquisition, processing, and loss

The Japanese writing system

Writing systems can be divided into two types: those representing the meanings, and those representing the sounds. Japanese writing is unusual in that it combines elements of both semantics and sound in a single system that is often said to be the most intricate and complicated ever used by a sizeable literate population (Coulmas, 1989:122). A text in Japanese is written in a systematic combination of ideographic characters and syllabic symbols.

The ideographs or *kanji* are logographs derived from Chinese characters. They are used to write content words, with each lexical morpheme being represented by a different character. *Kanji* characters are comparable to Arabic numerals read in Japanese or English in that there is no systematic correspondence between sound and symbol. The syllabic representations are in two sets (*hiragana* and *katakana*, collectively known as *kana*) that directly code the sound of a word. The syllabaries each consist of 48 symbols, differing shite wa doo desu ka (How about VP?/Why don't you VP?]

7. **Permission questions:** The speaker asks if the hearer grants permission for the speaker to have his/her request fulfilled. [e.g., V-shite mo ii desu ka (May/Can I VP?)]

8. **Mitigated-preparatory questions:** The speaker asks a question concerning preparatory conditions or a permission question by embedding it within another clause. [e.g., V-suru koto deki mase-n (deshoo) ka (Do you think that you can VP?/Would it be possible to VP?)]

9. **Mitigated-preparatory statements:** The speaker states a preparatory condition by embedding it within another clause. [e.g., -ka doo ka to omoi mashi te (I was wondering if you could VP)]

10. **Mitigated-want statements** (including a reduced form): The speaker states his/her want or wish that the hearer will perform the action in hypothetical situations. [e.g., V-shite kudasaru to arigatai no desu ga (I would appreciate it if you would VP)/V-shite itadakere ba....(If you would/could VP)]

11. **Nonconventional (Hints)**

between themselves only with respect to the shape of the signs, which, together with a few diacritic devices, provide complete notations for Japanese syllables. The *hiragana* are used to write grammatical morphemes and function words. The *katakana* are used chiefly to write non-Chinese loan words, onomnatopoeic words, and for emphasis (in a way similar to the use of italics in English print). Thus, in contemporary Japanese writing, we have, on the one hand, a system of characters largely arbitrary with respect to pronunciation but generally representative of a meaning and, on the other hand, a sound-based system .

Not only is the writing system itself unique, but apparently also shows a close relationship to the spoken language in the minds of native speakers. In interpreting the numerous homophones in Japanese (Out of 58,431 spoken words, 36% have at least one homophone, Hayashi, 1982:132), Japanese adults report mentally visualizing kanji to disambiguate the multiple meanings of a word that is heard . Sometimes in response to a question concerning the meaning of such a homophone used in conversation, a speaker will even spell out the character in the palm of the hand. Thus, we see that the written representations play a prominent role in language use and presumably also in language processing and retention.

Language processing and memory for logographs and phonetic scripts: kanji and kana

Over the past few decades psychologists have found numerous contrasts between the processing of logographic characters and phonetic words. Meanings are obtained faster from logogrphs than sound-based symbols. Reading aloud, on the other hand, is accomplished faster in phonetic scripts. (Biederman & Tsao, 1979; Saito 1981; Park & Vaid, 1995). Visual memory is better for logographs than for words in a phonetic script (Park & Vaid, 1995; Taylor & Park, 1995). Logographic readers (L1 Chinese) rely more on visual information in L2 word recognition of Korean than do alphabet readers (L1 English) who utilize phonological information to a greater extent (Chikamatsu, 1996).

An important general question is whether the structural peculiarities that distinguish *kanji* from linearized phonemic representations of language have any implications for differences with respect to memory. In this connection Park and Arbuckle (1977) examined the memory of Korean subjects for words written in Chinese characters and *han'gul*, the Korean alphabet. They found that the words presented in the alphabet were remembered better than those presented in the Chinese characters.

Turnage and McGinnes (1973) found that a visual code seems to be involved more in remembering Chinese characters than in remembering English words. In a task in which subjects indicated the serial order of test words which were presented either orally or visually, the Chinese subjects (reading logographs) did better when the words were presented visually, while American subjects (reading alphabetic script) did better when the words were presented orally. These findings suggest that there is indeed an intrinsic difference with respect to the processing mode of the two scripts.

Logographs and phonetic scripts in language loss

Although the immense expenditure of time and effort required to learn the Japanese writing system is known, information on the *nonpathological* loss of Japanese literacy skills and its effects on language attrition is as yet unavailable. There is a substantial literature, however, on the *pathological* loss of Japanese. Since the seventies researchers have investigated the hypothesis that different writing systems rely on different functions of the brain and/or are localized in different parts of the brain. Many experiments have been carried out with patients who had suffered different types and locations of brain damage in order to find out whether preferences for *kanji* or *kana* can be localized. As yet it is not clear how the results of such experiements are to be interpreted; but it is clear that the differences between morpheme-based writing systems and sound-based writing systems are not just superficial differences of coding, but relate to neuropsychological differences concerning the storage and processing of written language units.

After reviewing this literature on aphasia, Paradis, Hagiwara & Hildebrandt (1985: 194-95) concluded that the left hemisphere is involved in processing both logographic *kanji* and phonetic *kana*, but within the left hemisphere the areas differ--temporal for *kana*, occipito-parietal for *kanji*. Uchida et al. (1999), confirm this in an MRI study of the orthographic processing of Japanese characters in which the *kanji* are found to be processed in the left inferior occipital gyrus.

Paradis (1987) discusses the main patterns of dissociation in Japanese aphasic patients: better performance for *kanji* than for *kana* (in reading and/or writing), better performance for *kana* than for *kanji* (in reading and/or writing), better performance in oral reading than in reading comprehension (in *kana* and/or *kanji*), and better performance in reading comprehension than in oral reading (in *kana* and/or *kanji*). Despite the conclusion that is then drawn from the Japanese data, that each cognitive skill is neurofunctionally independent and can behave as a separate neural system, the point is also made that the neurofunctional modules that underlie the skills are integrated through their numerous interconnections (Paradis, 1987).

While the potential for dissociation of scripts and of language skills reported in the aphasia studies is clear, the possible relationships between the durabilities of various skills in nonpathological language attrition is yet to be clarified. Although we lack substantive evidence on effects of learning to read and write on language retention, it would appear that a literacy with a maximum neural distribution, which Japanese appears to typify, would be most likely to manifest such effects. Thus we turn to learners of Japanese in addressing the question that motivates the present study: Does the acquisition of literacy skills while learning a second language play a role in the retention of speaking and listening skills after regular contact with the language has been discontinued?

Method

Subjects

The subjects are 204 Americans,138 male and 66 female who, as young adults, had learned Japanese while working as missionaries in Japan. They range in age between 22 and 67, and the time since they had returned to the United States ranges between 8 months and 42 years. These subjects responded by mail to a survey that had been sent to 325 returnees from this population who are subjects in a larger study of L2 Japanese attrition (Hansen, in preparation). The response rate was 63%.

The subjects began their time in Japan between the ages of 19 and 23, and resided there from 18 months to three years. Prior to their sojourn in East Asia they had had little or no exposure to Japanese. Those who had departed for Japan longer than twenty-five years previously had had no prior exposure; those who had departed fewer than twenty-five years previously had studied Japanese for two months in a missionary training center in the United States before leaving for Japan. The population is particularly well suited for the present study since high levels of oral competence are achieved through extensive daily use of the language, while, at the same time, individuals vary dramatically in the extent to which they take the personal initiative required to learn to read and write it. Beyond the learning of *kana* in the missionary training center, the study of literacy skills is not supported and is generally not encouraged within the scope of the missionary calling. After the subjects' departure from Japan, the use of Japanese, both spoken and written, was discontinued or greatly reduced.

Instruments and data collection

The survey instrument includes a modified version of the Clark (1981) can-do scales, a self-rating of language ability which has been used in several studies of language attrition (Gardner, 1985; Weltens, 1988; de Bot & Lintsen, 1989; Waas, 1996). For each of three aspects of linguistic competence, speaking, reading and writing, our respondents were asked to rate, on a scale of 1 to 5, their ability to do 14 tasks for two points in time: (1) now, and (2) at the time of departure from Japan. The tasks range from simple, e.g., count to ten in the language, to more complex tasks, e.g., state and support with examples and reason a position on a controversial topic, e.g., abortion or nuclear safety. Additional items following the can-do sections elicited information on the subjects' learning and use of Japanese literacy.

In addition to the survey, three additional instruments were used to collect information on the subjects' current Japanese proficiency: (1) a listening comprehension task, (2) numeral classifier elicitation, and (3) negative elicitation. These had been administered earlier in individual sessions with each subject. Using the elicitation method designed by Sheldon (1974), the listening comprehension task required the subjects to manipulate toy animals in accordance with their understanding of Japanese sentences heard from a tape recorder. For the numeral classifier elicitation, a set of 24 cards containing pictures of objects in varying quantites were used to elicit twelve common classifiers. For the negation elicitation a set of 16 drawings was used to elicit a variety of negated utterances in Japanese (for additional details on the instrument, see Hansen, 1999b).

Demographic data, available from a previously administered questionnaire, together with the total scores from the three proficiency tests, and the responses from the survey instrument, were entered on an SPSS spreadsheet in preparation for correlation and stepwise regression analyses.

Results

Table 1 displays the results of a Pearson product moment procedure run between the five independent variables and dependent variable, self-evaluation of current speaking ability. The first of the independent variables is the literacy level at the time of departure from Japan. Since a preliminary analysis found the separate reading and writing self-evaluations to be highly related, they were added together to create this combined variable. The second variable is the total number of Japanese characters ever learned, during as well as subsequent to the time in Japan. A scale of 1-10 was used with 10 the highest number of kanji learned, 1500+ characters. The third variable, post-mission literacy, indicates whether the subjects learned any kanji after leaving Japan. The fourth variable is the length of time since departure from Japan. The fifth is gender.

Table 1
Correlations of Independent Variables with Self-Evaluation of Current Japanese Speaking Ability

	Miss-end literacy	Tot-kanji learned	Post-miss writing	Time since mission	Gender (1=f, 2=m)
Self-evaluation	.2475*	3796**	-.3306**	.5671**	.0701*
Miss-end		.6137**	-.3451**	-.0764	-.1669*
Tot-kanji			-.5746**	-.1573	-.2526**
Post-miss				.1983*	-.0733
Time					.1486*

*p < .05
**p < .0001

Notice on Table 1 that each of the independent variables correlates significantly with the speaking self-evaluation. Time since departure from Japan has the strongest correlation (-.567), followed next by the number of *kanji* learned (.380), and whether the subject continued the study of Japanese literacy after leaving Japan (.248). Gender showed the smallest relationship to estimated oral proficiency (.07).

In order to determine further the relationship of the attainment of L2 literacy with retention of the spoken language, four regression analyses were carried out, one for each of the separate measures of the current level of oral proficiency. The resulting regression coefficients can be viewed on Table 2. Notice that each of the four analyses on this table has a similar story to tell, each in turn revealing the highly significant relationship between the subjects' learning of Japanese characters with their performance, years later, on four measures of oral proficiency.

Table 2
Standardized Regression Coefficients Showing Literacy Effects on the Four Dependent Variables

Independent Variables	Speaking Self-Evaluation	Negation Elicitation	Counter Elicitation	Listening Comprehension
Literacy at Mission-end	.019	.0124	.0885	-.0663
Post-mission Literacy Study	.097	.029	.091	-.069
Total *Kanji* Learned	.244*	.338**	.279**	.475***
Time Since Mission	.467***	.539***	.384**	.301*
Gender	-.072	.084	.111	-.054
R^2	.437	.340	.270	.380

*p = < .01
**p = < .001
***p = < .0001

For the speaking self-evaluation we see that time since departure from Japan remains the strongest predictor of proficiency (.467). When time is controlled for in the regression model, however, three of the independent variables lose their significance: literacy level at time of departure from Japan (.019), continuation of the study of Japanese characters back in the United States (.097), and gender (.07). But, even controlling for time, we see that the total number of *kanji* learned does continue to have a significant effect (.244). Similarly for the negation elicitation task and the counter elicitation task, we see that when time is controlled for, the same three variables lose significance, while simultaneously the number of kanji learned maintains its significance. For the final independent variable, the listening comprehension task, the role of literacy in retention is shown to be even stronger. Remarkably, for performance on this task, '*kanji* learned' displays the strongest relationship of all the variables in the regression analysis (.475), stronger even than the length of time since departure from Japan (.301).

Discussion

These results suggest that learners of Japanese as a second language who become literate, as opposed to those who do not, have a subsequent advantage in maintaining their spoken Japanese. For the population of English-speaking adults examined in the present study, the extent of their knowledge of Japanese characters relates significantly to their maintenance of their second language up to four decades after discontinuation of its use.

These findings in the Japanese context raisee an interesting question concerning their generalisability to learners of languages having less complex writing systems. Inasmuch as the combination of ideographic *kanji* and phonological *kana* in Japanese requires comparatively extensive and widespread processing in the brain (Paradis et al. 1985), it may be that the neurological effects of Japanese literacy on language retention are greater than the effects of literacy in other languages. Or it may be that logographic systems relate to retention while phonological systems do not, or vice versa. These possibilities have been recently examined in replications of the present study using the same population of returned missionaries but examining groups who learned languages with different orthographies: returnees who had been sent to Taiwan on their missions and directed to learn Chinese with its logographic characters (Hansen & Chantrill 1999), and returnees who had been sent to Korea and learned Korean with its alphabet (Shewell & Hansen 1999). In these replication studies the literacy effect was again highly potent, just as it had been for the L2 Japanese attriters, and the number of logographs learned stood out consistently as a robust predictor of language retention over periods spanning forty years.

Another question concerning the interpretation of the findings reported here is whether the subjects' *kanji* knowledge, in and of itself, increases the durability of spoken competence. Could it be, rather, that some other factor has a causal effect on both literacy attainment and language retention and thus leads to the strong relationship between them? This question was addressed in the L2 Korean replication study through the introduction of an affective component into the research design (Shewell & Hansen 1999). Through path analysis the higher literacy and better L2 maintenance were shown to be attributable to a third factor, the learner/attriter's language attitudes and motivation.

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Section II. Languge Learners and Teachers

Chapter 7

Relationships among Attitudes, Motivation, Anxiety, and English Language Proficiency in Japanese College Students

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Beginning in the late 1950s with Gardner and associates, researchers have investigated empirically the influence of social-psychological variables such as attitudes, motivation, and anxiety on foreign language learning. In part, this research started as a reaction to the emphasis on language learning aptitude and verbal intelligence in the 1940s and 1950s (Chastain, 1975) and was prompted by the importance placed on affective variables in theories of second language acquisition (SLA), such as the "affective filter" in Krashen's monitor model, as well as in the many "innovative approaches" for language teaching in the 1960s and 1970s (Blair, 1982). Most studies have shown a significant positive correlation between favorable attitudes, motivation, and foreign language proficiency or achievement, but because the definitions, methods, and measurements (i.e., operationalization) of these variables have differed substantially from study to study, it is difficult to make clear comparisons. Moreover, previous analysis of relationships among these factors tended to be limited by then-current statistical methodologies although researchers have continued to develop more sophisticated statistical analyses such as the structural equation models used by Gardner, Tremblay, and Masgoret (1997), which this study attempts to partially replicate in a Japanese setting. The four variables in this study are attitudes, motivation, anxiety, and language proficiency. Because the relationships among these variables are complex, it may seem difficult to isolate and interpret each one. We will first go over research on each variable in isolation, then discuss the relationships among the four variables, and finally view them in a Japanese context before explaining the study we conducted.

Many SLA researchers have noted that, perhaps after L2 aptitude, motivation is the most important variable affecting learning achievement or proficiency, due to the long years required to become fluent in a foreign language (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991; Gardner, Tremblay & Masgoret, 1997; Skehan, 1989). In fact, high motivation can make up for deficits in language aptitude and environmental factors, particularly where the social setting demands L2 proficiency (Dörnyei, 1998). However, despite the agreement by many researchers over the importance of L2 motivation, there is less agreement regarding how to define exactly what motivation is and how it relates with attitudes, anxiety, and proficiency to affect language learning. Definitions of motivation depend on the theoretical perspective of a given researcher. Although the cognitively based definition proposed by Keller (1983) and adapted by Crookes and Schmidt (1991) helps to clarify the sub-components which influence L2 motivation, thus yielding more pedagogical validity and application, we think that the social-psychological approach taken by Gardner remains important because learning to communicate in a second language involves issues of personal and social identity (Dörnyei, 1998; Norton, 1997). Furthermore, other socio-psychological factors affect language learners, such as the tendency for previously formed attitudes as well as the in-class peer attitudes to affect the individual L2 learner's motivation to perform classroom tasks.

From this social-psychological viewpoint, motivation has been defined by Gardner as "the extent to which an individual works or strives to learn the language because of a desire to do so and satisfaction experienced in this activity" (cited in Dörnyei, 1998, p. 122). Skehan (1989) summarizes Gardner's (1985) definition into a concise formula: **Motivation = *Effort + Desire to Achieve Goal + Attitudes*** (p. 54) and reports that Gardner defines attitudes as "an evaluative reaction of some referent or attitude object, inferred on the basis of the individual's beliefs or opinions about the referent" (pp. 54-55). Gardner (1985) argued for a distinction between integrative and instrumental motivation and he primarily studied integrative motivation for L2 learning. Decades of research into integrative and instrumental orientations as motivations towards language learning have produced conflicting findings and interpretations due in part to the different definitions and methods employed by various researchers. Gardner's own results remain fairly consistent although he has since de-emphasized this distinction in favor of a general motivation factor, several studies have found that an instrumental orientation may be a better predictor of proficiency in EFL and even ESL settings. Despite this controversy regarding Gardner's (1985) construct, we shall adapt his definition of motivation and attitudes with the following caveats.

First, Gardner's (1985) definitions of motivation and attitudes as well as the Attitudes and Motivation Battery (AMTB) have been challenged for their conceptual ambiguity. For example, Au (1988) criticized Gardner's work for being vague and incomplete in that his socio-educational model of language learning may be immune to disconfirming evidence and because he had not adequately separated attitudes and motivation by breaking them down into distinct components. Furthermore, Gardner's (1985) method and instruments have also been challenged for the limitations of self-report data such as self-flattery, participants seeking social approval and the verbal intelligence or language proficiency required to complete such forms, especially when the questionnaire is written in the L2 (Crookes & Schmidt, 1991; Oller, 1977, 1981; Skehan, 1989). However, Gardner and Smythe (1981) have rigorously defended the construct validity and reliability of the AMTB. Moreover, the AMTB has been shown to be valid and reliable across a wide range of foreign and second language school settings in North America and Asia (Muchnick & Wolfe, 1982). We used the AMTB in part because we believed that it was important to establish some baseline measure and comparable data of our students' attitudes and motivation toward learning English.

The conception of foreign language anxiety has broadened considerably over the past few decades as curriculum goals and teaching methods have changed to incorporate more communicative approaches. Therefore, we decided to use two measures of anxiety. First, the anxiety subsection of the AMTB is comprised of five items which are believed to have a negative effect on foreign language achievement and proficiency. Subsequent research has revealed that anxiety may have a facilitating effect in certain classroom situations and that in any case, the relationship between anxiety and learning was not linear: too much anxiety may be debilitating and too little anxiety may reduce learner attention to language forms (Scovel, 1978). Foreign language anxiety may be associated with the traditional performance anxiety of teacher-directed drills, but with the rise of communicative language teaching, the focus has shifted to communicative anxiety, as students are now encouraged to express themselves more freely in the L2. Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986) pioneered research into foreign language classroom anxiety as an independent variable which affects L2 achievement and proficiency. They have developed a 33-item instrument, called the Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS), for which the validity and reliability has been demonstrated (Horwitz, 1986). Many researchers would agree that in addition to aptitude, motivation, and attitudes, anxiety also has a substantial effect on language learning outcomes. However, there is still debate over the extent to which anxiety is situation-specific rather than (personality) trait-specific (MacIntyre, forthcoming; MacIntyre & Gardner, 1991, 1994), how it may be debilitating or facilitating, and how it relates to other affective and cognitive dimensions of L2 learning (MacIntyre & Gardner, 1989; MacIntyre, Noels, & Clément, 1997; Oxford, 1999).

Foreign language classroom anxiety appears to be a distinct kind of anxiety. Anxiety tends to be defined in general psychological terms, for example as "a state of apprehension or a vague fear" (Scovel, 1978, p. 134) and described in terms of its biological and behavioral manifestations, such as rapid heartbeat or sweating, the inability to answer a verbal question, failure despite excessive studying, and avoidance of certain activities or skipping the language class altogether. Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986) define anxiety psychologically as "the subjective feeling of nervousness and worry associated with an arousal of the autonomic nervous system" (p. 125). However, an important distinction for this study is the differences between trait and state anxiety. While some individuals might be inclined to become anxious in any situation, this study specifically investigates foreign language classroom anxiety, a situation-specific anxiety.

Horwitz (1986) developed the FLCAS after observing a counseling group for students who were anxious about their foreign language classes and listening to numerous complaints and symptoms. Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope (1986) note that there are many individuals who have a specific mental block about learning foreign languages but are good at learning other subjects. Often this anxiety is prompted by having to speak and listen in a foreign language when one might not understand every word or be able to speak without making mistakes. According to MacIntyre and Gardner (1989), Horwitz (1986) identifies three main components of L2 classroom anxiety: communication apprehension, fear of negative evaluation, and test anxiety. The first two components generally have a debilitating effect, but test anxiety had no clearly negative correlation with proficiency. In this case, test anxiety may be operating as a form of facilitative anxiety, that is, as a motivating factor to study harder or perform better. On the other hand, Horwitz's (1986) theory of foreign language classroom anxiety may be criticized as not being sufficiently distinct since test anxiety can exist in a variety of other subjects. Furthermore, the first two components are highly correlated, because one may fear not being able to communicate at all as well as not being able to communicate smoothly at the same time. Nevertheless, despite these criticisms, the FLCAS may be viewed as one of the most thorough, validated, and reliable instruments available for obtaining research results on L2 classroom anxiety.

As with motivation, there are also some caveats for researching L2 anxiety. Although anxiety may appear to be a fairly narrow aspect of language learning when compared with attitudes and motivation, it is not as easy to operationalize or research anxiety. First, Phillips (1992) argues that anxiety is a complex, multifaceted construct and recommends the use of various instruments to measure it and to survey different groups of students across a variety learning situations. Phillips (1992) suggests that there may be differences based on the particular L2, the language skills, and teaching methods used as well as the age and the ability level of the participants. Nevertheless, according to Phillips (1992), qualitative research reveals that anxiety is an important factor and she recognizes that the FLCAS was generated from such an approach. Second, Gardner has frequently changed the role that anxiety plays in his model of language learning over the years, removing it, returning it, and more recently subsuming it under linguistic self-confidence (MacIntyre & Gardner, 1991; Gardner, Tremblay, & Masgoret, 1997). One of Gardner's associates, Clément, regards linguistic self-confidence as a socially defined construct and an important attitude which affects language proficiency (cited in Dörnyei, 1998). It can be characterized as the opposite of anxiety and it has a negative correlation with it. Anxiety seems to have some relationship with learning styles and beliefs and appears to be a relevant factor for Japanese students studying English communicatively with native English speaker teachers (Yamashiro & Sakai, 1999a, 1999b). From a sociocultural perspective, Japanese notions of "face" and the extraordinary pressure to fit in with group norms tend to affect learner anxiety in the language classroom. It is hoped that this study, despite its limitations, will contribute to our understanding of the role of L2 anxiety among low-proficiency university EFL students in Japan.

Gardner was a pioneer in the study of relationships among individual difference variables, developing increasingly more complex models of language learning over the past decade based on his socio-educational model, although there has also been much criticism towards creating such complex models from so many variables (Au, 1988). Gardner, Tremblay, and Masgoret (1997) claim that modeling is necessary because "a number of variables affect achievement and they do not operate independently of each other" (p. 347). Kunnan (1995) investigated the relationships among four socio-psychological factors (attitudes, motivation, anxiety, and effort) and three strategic factors (cognitive, metacognitive, and communication) using structural equation modeling, which "provided a unique opportunity to explore the dynamic and complex networks of structural relationships among some test taker characteristics and EFL test performance" (p. 81). Because the results of his structural models were "complicated and extensive, and generally conformed to the expectations and hypotheses" (p.72), Kunnan (1995) asserts:

> for multivariate analyses of dynamic systems like language learning,

> structural equation modeling appears to be an essential, if not a preferred, approach.... Model formulation and model modification too, especially when done in the exploratory mode of structural modeling, give it a flexibility that other research methodologies do not have (p. 78).

This study seeks to partially replicate the model presented in the study by Gardner, Tremblay, and Masgoret (1997, see Appendix A) which examined aptitude, field independence, strategies, attitudes, motivation, achievement, and confidence. This study does not look at language learning aptitude, field independence, or strategies; it replaces achievement with proficiency since grades were not uniformly determined by the three classroom teachers at the two research sites; and it focuses on anxiety rather than linguistic self-confidence (see Figure 1). The study by Brown, Robson, and Rosenkjar (1996) of EFL students at an American university branch in Tokyo looked at the relationships among personality, attitudes, motivation, anxiety, learning strategies, and L2 proficiency. One of Brown, Robson, and Rosenkjar's (1996) findings was that lower proficiency students had a higher level of instrumental motivation, while higher proficiency students had a facilitating anxiety which may be associated with extroversion. Because this study partially replicates Gardner, Tremblay, and Masgoret's (1997) model using instruments developed for Brown, Robson, and Rosenkjar (1996), we will discuss some of their findings on the relationships between these variables in a later section.

MacIntyre and Gardner (1991), in their review of the literature on L2 anxiety, examine the effects of anxiety in a range of language learning situations. First, MacIntyre and Gardner (1991) noted few correlations between personality traits, language aptitude, achievement, and self-rated proficiency (see also MacIntyre, Noels, & Clément, 1997). Moreover, a measure of trait anxiety did not correlate with any of the proficiency measures. Because previous studies have found a negative correlation between anxiety and achievement but a positive correlation between favorable attitudes toward language learning and achievement, there tends to be a negative relationship between positive language learning attitudes and anxiety. Since positive attitudes and motivation are highly positively correlated, conversely, there should be a negative correlation between anxiety and motivation. This idea makes sense in that low-motivated students may have low proficiency and as a result be more anxious in language classes. On the other hand, it is also possible that high motivation could increase anxiety by creating higher expectations in the learner and thus greater likelihood or fear of failure. Researchers have often shown that anxiety can result from low achievement (Price, 1991). Moreover, higher proficiency students have a greater range of strategies to handle anxiety-provoking situations (Skehan, 1989).

As for the relationship among motivation, anxiety, and proficiency, Gardner, Smythe, Clément, and Gliksman (1976) speculate that motivation may be more important at the early stages of second language acquisition and classroom anxiety may be more important at higher levels. The opposite may be equally true and there is no definite pattern because it depends on a host of factors, including how many and which variables are studied, for what kind of students, and in what kind of setting. Nevertheless, MacIntyre and Gardner (1991) claim that achievement leads to favorable attitudes, enhances motivation, and

Tables and Figures

Table 1. 12 Attitudinal Variables on AMTB and FLCAS.

Attitudinal Instruments	12 Variables	Description of Variables	*k*
AMTB (Gardener, 1985; adapted and translated into Japanese for Brown, Robson, & Rosenkjar, 1996).	AAJ	Attitudes toward A m e rLiving in Japan	10
	AAG	Attitudes toward Americans in General	10
	IFL	Interest in learning Foreign Languages	10
	INT	Integrative Orientation	4
	PEN	Parental Encouragement	10
	INS	Instrumental Orientation	4
	AEP	Attitudes toward English--Positive	5
	AEN	Attitudes toward English--Negative	5
	ECA	English Class Anxiety	5
FLCAS (Honvitz, Honvitz, & Cope, 1986; adapted for Brown, Robson, & Rosenkjar, 1996).	FLS	Foreign Language Speaking Anxiety	11
	FLC	Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety	11
	FLN	Foreign Language Non Anxiety	9*

Table 2. Descriptives on twelve variables from two attitudinalinstruments (*N*=220)

Attitudinal Instruments	Twelve Variables	*M*	*SD*	Total Poss.	α	*k*
AMTB	AAJ	48.27	7.06	70	.75	10
	AAG	45.05	8.56	70	.88	10
	IFL	53.31	9.08	70	.84	10
	INT	21.04	4.40	28	.83	4
	PEN	44.17	9.50	70	.88	10
	INS	19.32	4.16	28	.66	4
	AEP	25.12	5.86	35	.87	5
	AEN	16.43	5.97	35	.82	5
	ECA	23.01	5.05	35	.67	5
FLCAS	FLS	36.05	8.05	55	.89	11
	FLC	35.32	7.71	55	.87	11
	FLN	23.44	4.98	45	.73	9*

* Two items were eliminated from this subscale.

reduces anxiety; at the same time, they argue for the independence of anxiety and motivation because the AMTB shows convergent and discriminant validity for these measures.

Less research has been conducted outside North America, but researchers in Japan and other Asian countries have looked at the relationship between motivation and L2 proficiency. Due to the highly competitive educational systems prevalent in many East Asian countries, scholars have speculated about the relative importance of integrative and instrumental motivations, with conflicting results for researchers (Benson, 1997; Berwick & Ross, 1989; Teweles, 1996). Berwick and Ross (1989), in their review of previous studies on Japanese students concerning their attitudes and motivations toward English, report conflicting findings such as an integrative motivation orientation among better language learners, a weak correlation between positive attitudes and proficiency, and that experience speaking the L2 is more important than motivation in predicting proficiency. In general, educators such as McCornick (1993) have noted the general lack of motivation to study English (or any subject) among Japanese university students. There seems to be an instrumental motivational vacuum left by years of competition and studying English for entrance exams to get into the highest level university possible in Japan's hierarchy of universities. After all, it is often solely the names of these universities and not grades nor skills such as English language proficiency that influence student employment opportunities (see Amano, 1995; Benjamin & James, 1995; Cutts, 1997; Duke, 1986; Fujita, 1995; Marshall, 1994; Mochizuki, 1995; Rohlen, 1983).

It is interesting then, that some researchers have noted a rather puzzlingly high level of motivation among Japanese students without a corresponding high level of proficiency (Teweles, 1996; Ogane & Sakamoto, 1997; Yamashiro & Sakai, 1999a, 1999b). Nakata (1995a, 1995b, cited in Dörnyei, 1998) found that for Japanese learners an "international orientation" or "cosmopolitan outlook" influences their success in learning English. In fact, there seems to be a general tendency for Japanese students to have a vaguely integrative orientation toward language learning, and the lack of correlation between students' imagined and actual performance suggests that students are not aware of a variety of strategies for accomplishing their goals. Ogane and Sakamoto (1997) found very little L2 anxiety among students and a desire to speak English, which were not reflected in performance. Yamashiro and Sakai (1999a, 1999b) found that although the junior college and university students reported having positive attitudes and a slight degree of motivation to learn English, they reported little effort in their L2 study. One wonders how it is that a reportedly high motivation among Japanese college students does not translate into good learner behaviors and higher proficiency. Perhaps it is an artifact of self-report data, perhaps it reveals a lack of learner awareness as to what constitutes communicative competence and how to attain it, and perhaps, as we find in this study, other factors such as L2 anxiety play a larger role.

Based on this review of the literature and the particular characteristics of the students and teaching contexts in this study, the following research question was proposed:

To what extent do attitudes, motivation, and anxiety influence English proficiency in low-proficiency Japanese college students?

We selected the AMTB and FLCAS for our research sites with an awareness that other researchers have created and validated their own surveys for studying Japanese students attitudes, motivations, and anxieties toward learning English (Benson, 1997; Berwick & Ross, 1989; Ogane & Sakamoto, 1997). The AMTB and FLCAS were selected because they had been translated and checked for reliability in a study by Brown, Robson and Rosenkjar (1996) who sought descriptive data on a Japanese pre-university students population at an American university branch in Tokyo. The target language and language-speaking communities used in the survey were American English, and because three of the four native-speakers of English at the research sites for this study were Americans, we felt that this version of the AMTB would also be appropriate for our sample. Therefore, an additional purpose of this study is to comment on the reliability and validity of the four instruments with our population.

The 220 participants attend two recently established private tertiary institutions in Japan: 95 students from a junior college and 125 students from a university. The junior college participants are English majors—40 second-year and 55 first-year students representing 61% and 54% of each class. The university participants are law and politics majors who have a two-year English language requirement. This sample is comprised of 78 second-year and 47 first-year students, which represents about 32% and 20% of the total population by year respectively.

Gardner's (1985) Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB) was translated into Japanese and items which referred to French and French-Canadians were altered to refer to the English language and Americans for Brown, Robson, and Rosenkjar (1996). In this study, the researchers used the 63 Likert-scale items from the AMTB (see Appendix B for sample items) to obtain data on the following nine variables: 1) attitudes toward Americans living in Japan, 2) attitudes toward Americans in general, 3) interest in foreign languages, 4) interest in learning foreign languages, 5) integrative orientation, 6) parental encouragement, 7) instrumental orientation, 8) attitudes toward English—positive, 9) attitudes toward English—negative, and English classroom anxiety (see Table 1).

Cronbach's alpha reliability for each of the nine subscales were calculated (see Table 2). The Japanese questionnaire items were randomly ordered on the survey instrument and used a seven-point Likert-scale to indicate the degree to which the respondent agreed or disagreed with each statement.

Horwitz, Horwitz, and Cope's (1986) foreign language classroom anxiety scale was adapted and translated for Brown, Robson, and Rosenkjar (1996). The Japanese version had a five-point Likert-scale to indicate the respondent's agreement to items on three foreign language anxiety subscales: 1) speaking anxiety, 2) classroom anxiety, and 3) non anxiety (see Table 1, see Appendix B for sample items). Cronbach's alpha reliabilities were calculated for each of the three subscales (see Table 2). The 33 questionnaire items were randomly ordered on the survey. Two items under "non anxiety" (FLN) were eliminated, because they lowered reliability for the subscale.

The 1986 edition of Comprehensive English Language Test (CELT) (Harris & Palmer) has parallel forms, Form A and Form B. Each form has three subsections—listening, structure, and vocabulary—which are scored according to the percentage of items answered correctly (see Table 3). Form A was used in this study.

Table 3. The four variables from the two proficiency instruments (*N* =220)

Proficiency Instruments	4 Variables	Description of Variables	*k*
CELT Form A (Harris & Palmer, 1986)	CAL	CELT: Listening	50
	CAS	CELT: Structure	75
	CAV	CELT: Vocabulary	75
Cloze Test (Brown, 1980)	CZE	Cloze Test: Acceptable answer sco	50

Table 4. Descriptives on the four variables from the two proficiency instruments (*N* =220)

Proficiency Instruments	Four Variables	*M*	*SD*	K-R21	*k*
CELT Listening	CAL	31.79	9.31	.53	50
CELT Structure	CAS	34.49	9.25	.66	75
CELT Vocabulary	CAV	25.80	7.59	.58	75
Cloze Test: Acceptable answer scoring	CZE	5.02	3.76	.69	50

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Cloze Test (Brown, 1980)	CZE	Cloze Test: Acceptable answer sco	50

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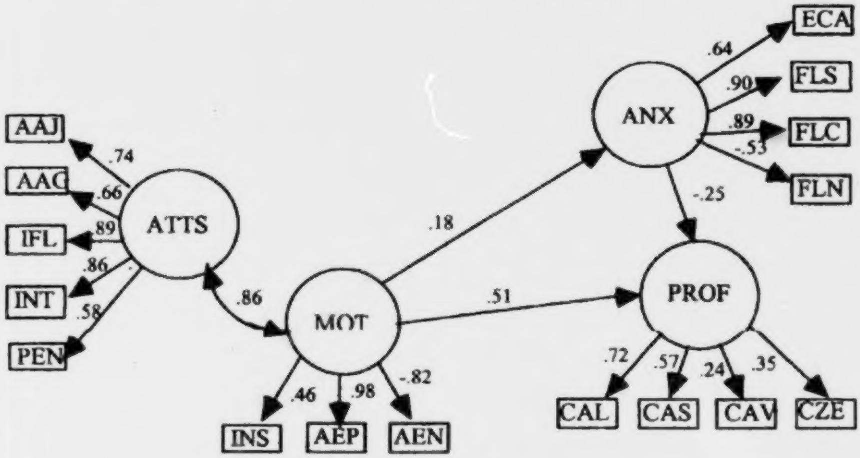
CELT Vocabulary	CAV	25.80	7.59	.58	75
Cloze Test: Acceptable answer scoring	CZE	5.02	3.76	.69	50

Figure 1. Structural Equation Model: Attitudes, Motivation, English Language Proficiency, and Anxiety (*N*=220) [Standardized Solution]


ECA
FLS
FLC
FLN
.64
.90
.89
-.53
ANX
-.25
AAJ
AAG
IFL
INT
PEN
.74
.66
.89
.86
.58
ATTS
.18
.86
MOT
.51
PROF
.46
.98
-.82
INS
AEP
AEN
.72
.57
.24
.35
CAL
CAS
CAV
CZE

ATTS:	AAJ:	Attitudes toward Amer. Living in Japan
	AAG:	Attitudes toward Americans in General
	IFL:	Interest in learning Foreign Languages
	INT:	Integrative Orientation
	PEN:	Parental Encouragement
MOT:	INS:	Instrumental Orientation
	AEP:	Attitudes toward English--Positive
	AEN:	Attitudes toward English--Negative
ANX:	ECA:	English Class Anxiety
	FLS:	Foreign Language Speaking Anxiety
	FLC:	Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety
	FLN:	Foreign Language Non Anxiety
PROF	CAL:	CELT Listening
	CAS:	CELT Structure
	CAV:	CELT Vocabulary
	CZE:	Cloze Test: Acceptable answer scoring

Chi-Square = 268.77 Based on 101 Degrees of Freedom
Probability Value for the Chi-Square Statistic is less than 0.001

Bentler-Bonett Normed Fit Index = .85
Bentler-Bonett Nonnormed Fit Index = .88
Comparative Fit Index = .90

The Kuder-Richardson formula (K-R21) was used to estimate the reliability for each of the three sections of the CELT: (see Table 4).

In addition to the CELT, a 50-item cloze test was administered and scored using acceptable answers (Brown, 1980). The cloze test had a K-R21 reliability of .69.

Three teachers collected the data at the two tertiary institutions by administering the four instruments over three or more class periods during the spring and fall terms of the 1998 academic year. The participants were informed that the AMTB, FLCAS, CELT, and cloze test scores were part of a research project and the results would be reported to them, but would not negatively affect their year-end grades. A total of 362 students originally participated in the study, 160 junior college students and 202 university students, but due to incomplete surveys and absences during one of the administration days, this number was decreased to 220 for the following analysis.

This study used structural equation modeling to partially replicate Gardner, Tremblay, and Masgoret's (1997) model (see Appendix A). In our study, we adapted the four factors and the measurement variables in the structural equation model (see Figure 1): in place of the achievement variable in Gardner, Tremblay, and Masgoret's (1997) model, we decided to use language proficiency since we used participants from two separate institutions having different curricula (i.e. the English achievement tests and course grades would not be on the same scale). Because of the researchers' interest in anxiety, we decided to use the subscales from the FLCAS to alter Gardner, Tremblay and Masgoret's (1997) confidence factor into one focused on foreign language classroom anxiety.

After preparing our structural equation model (see Figure 1) and running it on EQS 5.0 for the Macintosh (Bentler, 1995), we had a chi-square of 268.77 based on 101 degrees of freedom and a comparative fix index of .90, which indicated a fairly good fit for the data.

Attitudes (ATTS) and motivation (MOT) reflect a fairly strong correlational path of .86. Although Gardner et al. (1997, see Appendix A) had a unidirectional arrow pointing from attitudes to motivation with a beta weight of .96, this is fairly close to the correlational path in our model. Our path from motivation (MOT) to language proficiency (PROF) at .51 offers support for Gardner et al.'s (1997) model, which had a path of .48 running from motivation to a language achievement factor. Furthermore, although it is not as strong, the path from anxiety (ANX) to language proficiency (PROF) is -.25. The negative path suggests that higher levels of anxiety tend to indicate lower levels of language proficiency. Although anxiety is not directly the converse of confidence, in comparing the .60 path from achievement to confidence in Gardner et al.'s (1997) model with the -.25 path in this model, the similarity between the two paths may be due to the fact that their model uses English class anxiety (ECA) as a measurement variable and this study using foreign language non-anxiety (FLN) which includes an item on confidence. We interpret the path from motivation (MOT) to anxiety (ANX) at .18 to indicate a debilitating form of anxiety, where too much motivation causes higher anxiety which leads to worsened performance; however, this hypothesis requires further study.

Although our structural equation model is a modified replication of just four factors from Gardner, Tremblay, and Masgoret's (1997) study, we can readily agree with West and Salk (cited in Kunnan, 1995), who assert that data from the human and language sciences tend to embrace complexity and ambiguity, and with Kunnan (1995), who argues that structural models "may only be scratching at the surface of the complexity" (p. 82). In our structural model (see Figure 1), attitudes are correlated with motivation, and motivation has a fairly strong, direct influence on language proficiency as well as a weaker indirect path mediated through anxiety to proficiency; however, there is still much that is left unexplained because the model does not account for all of the variance. The result of this study suggests that anxiety needs reconsideration as a factor that influences self-report data and language proficiency (MacIntyre, Noels, & Clément, 1997) and acts as a bridge between cognitive, social psychological, and biological approaches because anxiety appears to have subtle effects on L2 cognitive processing (MacIntyre & Gardner, 1994). Many scholars have noted the changing nature of attitudes and motivation, particularly in Japan, where it ranges from an instrumental but anxiety-provoking motivation to pass entrance examinations for entry into tertiary institutions to the motivational wasteland or vacuum after matriculation (Benson, 1997; Berwick & Ross, 1989; Cutts, 1997). Language teachers should continue developing pedagogical approaches to improve their students' overall linguistic knowledge, while placing equal attention on classroom dynamics to explore possible interventions for building student L2 confidence, self-esteem, and peer networks. At the same time, more research is needed in language anxiety (MacIntyre, forthcoming), willingness to speak and L2 confidence (MacIntyre, Clément, Dörnyei, & Noels, forthcoming), and in other psychological, social, and affective dimensions (Arnold, 1999; Ehrman, 1996; Ehrman & Dörnyei, 1998; MacIntyre, 1994). While the cross-sectional self-report data presented in this study has several limitations noted above, other forms of research, such as ethnographies and longitudinal studies, need to be explored for delving deeper into internal and external sources of attitudes, motivation and anxiety in the foreign language classroom (Berwick & Ross, 1989; Skehan, 1989).

Note

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Chapter 8

Investigating the Role of Language Aptitude in EFL Courses in Japan

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Research has shown that language aptitude is among the strongest predictors of success in second language learning, its place in the study of individual differences now firmly established (Carroll, 1965; Skehan, 1989; Gardner, Tremblay, & Masgoret, 1997). While the primary use of aptitude testing has been to select candidates for elite intensive language training, other uses have been proposed and, some would say, neglected. Both Skehan and Carroll have proposed that aptitude measures could be fruitfully employed by language teachers as diagnostic tools by evaluating scores from various subtests to identify strong points and anticipate problems. Skehan (1998) has suggested that learners can be categorized according to ability profiles, specifically as memory-oriented, analytically-oriented, or balanced, and instruction tailored to fit. Weshe (1981) found some indication that aptitude profiles, along with other variables, could be fruitfully employed to assign learners to types of training, such as an analytical versus an audio-visual program of instruction. Yet another potential use of aptitude would be as a control variable in research with a different variable of interest. To illustrate, there are currently proposals to introduce foreign language learning at the elementary school level in Japan. A researcher wishing to study the effect of early instruction on performance at a later age might incorporate an aptitude measure in the design, both to see if there are interactions between aptitude and the effects of early instruction or to moderate potential confounds resulting from the use of intact groups.

Although, as other articles in this volume will attest, there appears to still be an interest in and need for measures of language aptitude, publishers have announced plans to drop both the Pimsleur Language Aptitude Battery (PLAB) and the Modern Language Aptitude Test (MLAT) from their catalogs once current stock has expired. This could be a blessing in disguise, however. Although these instruments have served a long and useful purpose, new developments in both SLA theory and teaching practice have created a need for new aptitude tests. In particular, there is a need for instruments with a stronger orientation toward oral input, and for tests not dependent on English proficiency for their use. In this paper, we will describe a new language aptitude instrument we are developing for Japanese foreign language learners, and present the results of an initial pilot administration.

The Lunic Language Marathon

We designed the Lunic Language Marathon (LLM), or "*Luna-go ni charengi*" in Japanese, to be a useful diagnostic and research tool for use with Japanese foreign language learners from junior high school to university age. In order to make it non-threatening and suitable as a classroom activity, it is presented as a game in which testees try to learn aspects of an imaginary language during a series of "events." Testees are told that the purpose of the game is to help them discover their strong points in language learning. Specifically, whether they are strong at auditory, visual, memory-based, or analytical ways of learning. They are then asked to imagine that they are space travellers who have arrived on a planet called *Luna*, where they must learn the language from the inhabitants in a series of events, each of which stresses a different mode of learning. We have tried to make the test a simulation of an extended language learning experience. That is, the subtests progress from casual aural leaning, to study of the sounds and script of the language, to words written in the new script, to grammatical analysis of sentences using the newly learned vocabulary.

We decided to rely initially on proven item formats borrowed from MLAT and PLAB. This is partly because attempts to improve on the predictive power of MLAT, such as DLAB (Parry & Child, 1990) and VORD (Peterson & Al-Haik, 1976), have not been particularly successful, but also because new formats are best tested in intensive language programs which we currently do not have access to. In all, the test takes about fifty minutes to administer and consists of five subtests:

Part 1: Lunic Numbers (45 items) — This section was adapted from MLAT Part 1: Number Learning. Testees are given a short aural lesson on the Lunic number system, during which they are not allowed to take notes. After the learning phase, they do a dictation task consisting of fifteen three-digit numbers. Part 1 tests auditory memory and learning ability, and perhaps inductive language learning. Learners who enjoy or excel may have a preference for auditory learning

Part 2: Lunic Writing (25 items) — Testees are taught the Lunic alphabet, which is based on medieval German runic characters. Part 2 consists of five learning/testing sequences of five items each, each item consisting of four symbol-units, or "words", written in Lunic characters. The sounds that are associated with each word are first read aloud. After hearing all four sounds for each of five items, participants return to the first item in the sequence, hear one of the four sounds and must select the corresponding symbols. They are again prohibited from writing memos to help them remember. The task involves building associations between sounds and symbols and is intended to be a test of phonemic coding ability similar to MLAT's Phonetic Script test.

Part 3: Lunic Vocabulary (20 items) — This section was adapted from MLAT Part 5: Paired Associates. Testees are given 20 Lunic words written in the new Lunic script, along with Japanese glosses. After a four minute memorization phase, they are tested on the meaning of the Lunic words with twenty multiple-choice items. It is rather more taxing than the MLAT as it involves using an unfamiliar script. Its purpose is to test rote learning ability and a preference for visual learning.

Part 4: Lunic Grammar (15 items) — This section was adapted from the PLAB Part 4: Language Analysis. Testees must infer the rules of the Lunic language from provided sample sentences and then choose a correct Lunic translation for fifteen Japanese sentences. All sentences are written in Lunic script and use vocabulary from Part 3. The purpose is to test inductive language learning ability and a preference for analytical learning tasks.

Part 5: My Impressions (18 questions) - The final section surveys testees about their impressions of the various tasks in the LLM. In addition to ratings of perceived difficulty and enjoyment for each subtest, testees are asked to introspect on whether they used analytical or memory-based techniques when doing certain tasks, and whether overall they preferred the aural tasks, or the visual tasks. The aim is to construct testees profiles in order to search for relationships between learner preferences, abilities, and achievement.

The purpose of the present study was to pilot the LLM on testees representative of its target audience in order to gauge its reliability and validity, and to gather data for further development and improvement of the instrument. Specific research questions were:

1. Does the LLM reliably and consistently sort testees into a normal distribution?
2. Does the LLM predict foreign language achievement or acquired proficiency?
3. Is the LLM an efficient instrument? Are the subtests within the LLM highly correlated, and thus redundant? Are individual items within the subtests efficient discriminators?
4. How do testees respond to the LLM? Is it perceived as fun and valuable, or as stressful and a diversion from learning time?

Method

Participants

For its initial pilot, the LLM was administered to three groups: 110 third-year students at a private boys high school, 44 first and second-year university students enrolled in a semi-intensive English course, and 12 adult graduate students who agreed to participate as expert observers. The high school is affiliated with an upper level university, and the students would generally be regarded as above average in academic ability. They would likely score well above the population mean on IQ tests. The university is a mid-level university known for it's international studies division and intensive English language program. First-year students in this program take nine hours per week of English instruction by native speakers, have considerable out-of-class reading and writing assignments, and take the institutional TOEFL exam twice during their first year. The graduate students were taking advanced degrees in applied linguistics and ranged in age from about thirty to fifty.

Materials

In addition to the LLM, a variety of achievement and proficiency scores were gathered in order to examine the relationship between the LLM, acquired proficiency, and classroom achievement. For the high school students, these consisted of four fifty-minute achievement tests given as mid-term and final exams in a two-hour per week oral English course. Each test consisted of about twenty-five minutes of taped listening problems and twenty-five minutes of reading, vocabulary, and grammar problems. The content of the achievement tests was drawn from class activities, and students were always given a detailed study guide before the exams to facilitate review. A listening proficiency score was determined by a ten-items subtest, unrelated to course content, included in the final achievement test. The format was similar to TOEFL listening part A: testees hear a short dialogue and then choose the best answer to a question about it. Analysis of random samples of these tests demonstrated that they were all reasonably reliable, with Kuder-Richardson formula 20 values between .85 and .89. In addition to these scores, each student presented a three minute speech during the school year. The speech was prepared in advance, but delivered without notes, and a score ranging from 0 to 10 determined by averaging the scores of two raters.

The university intensive English program provided a variety of achievement and proficiency scores. The first-year students final grade was calculated using a weighted average of eight tasks, including mid-term and final speaking, listening, and reading tests, a timed paragraph writing test, a narrative essay, an oral presentation, and written reports on graded readers. The results of an institutional TOEFL test administered near the end of their first term were also available. Seventeen second-year students also sat the LLM, but because their assessed tasks were different from the first-year's, their scores were used only for descriptive statistics and item analysis.

Procedures

The LLM was administered using a pre-recorded cassette which contained the two aural sections, as well as all instructions and timing commands for the other three sections. The test was administered in ordinary classrooms using a portable cassette player. Following the high school administration, a slight adjustment was made to the time allowed for Part 3, Lunic Vocabulary. As many of the high school students complained about not having time to memorize the vocabulary or to do the multiple choice quiz that followed, it was decided to increase both the memorization time and the quiz time to four minutes each for the following administration at the university. The graduate students took an English version of the test which included three extra minutes for Part 4, Lunic Grammar. This was because we felt their comments on the test items would be more valuable than scores comparable to the other groups, and we wanted them to have as much time as possible to finish the section.

Analyses

In addition to observation of participants as they sat the test, two types of analyses were carried out on the data gathered from the three administrations. First, descriptive statistics were calculated and item analysis carried out to determine if the LLM and subtests reliably and efficiently divide the target population into a normal distribution. The descriptive phase treated all participants as a single sample (N=166). Second, correlational analysis was used to explore relationships between LLM results and available measures of proficiency and achievement. As the high school and university participants had different sets of proficiency and achievement scores, the correlational analyses were carried out separately.

Results

Observations

Participants appeared to enjoy doing the LLM. Particularly during the taped introduction, when they were told to imagine themselves as space travellers, much laughter was heard. Enthusiasm waned somewhat, however, when the test got underway and the difficulties of the tasks became more apparent. In Part 5, eleven percent of the participants reported that doing the LLM was "a lot of fun." Twenty-seven percent said that it was "kind of fun", fifty-one percent "not much fun", and nine percent reported that it was "boring and tiring." In general, however, it seemed to work as a classroom activity and was for most students, an entertaining respite from the normal curriculum.

Descriptive Statistics

Distributions of total LLM scores and the four subtests were plotted and examined. Distributions for the total LLM and Parts 1, 3 and 4 were found to be near normal, with Part 1 and Part 3 showing a slight negative and positive skew respectively. Part 2 however, with a median score of 92 percent, is negatively skewed with an extreme ceiling effect. It was much easier than anticipated and will require substantial revision for future versions. Descriptive statistics for all participants along with reliability estimates are given in Table 1.

Estimates of internal consistency using Kuder-Richardson formula 20 range from .77 to .93 for the subtests, and .91 for the LLM total score. It may be inferred that reliability for Part 2 is weakened due to the ceiling effect, and Part 4 due to the fact that it contains only fifteen items. Part 3, with its short time limit, may have encouraged random guessing near the end. Overall, however, the LLM seems to place testees along a normal curve with reasonable internal consistency.

In addition to standard descriptive statistics, item facility and item discrimination values were calculated for all items. Item discrimination values were calculated both as a function of the whole test and as a function within their respective subtests. This analysis allowed us to eliminate a few errors in the answer key and test booklet which managed to escape pre-piloting scrutiny, and to determine which kinds of items, particularly in Part 2 and Part 4, are most suitable for future revisions.

Table 1 Descriptive statistics

	P1	P2	P3	P4	Total
Mean	69.0	89.5	56.4	67.2	70.5
Median	73.3	92.0	50.0	66.7	71.7
SD	20.0	12.5	23.0	20.2	12.5
Range	80.0	56.0	90.0	86.7	60.4
Maximum	95.6	100	100	100	98.3
Minimum	15.6	44.0	10.0	13.3	38.0
k	45	25	20	15	105
K-R20	.93	.81	.83	.77	.91

N = 166. All scores expressed as percentages for easier comparison.

Table 2 Subtest intercorrelations

	P1	P2	P3	P4	Total
P2	.45				
P3	.07	.17			
P4	.31	.21	.29		
Total	.67	.60	.65	.71	
Enjoy	.25	.18	.19	.20	.32

N = 166

Table 3 Correlations with high school Oral Communication achievement scores

	LLM total	P1 (numbers)	P2 (Ph Code)	P3 (Vocab)	P4 (Lang Anal)
1st Term Grade	**.169**	.038	**.183**	**.203**	.036
2nd Term Grade	.147	**.198**	**.190**	.155	-.124
Final Grade	**.159**	.152	**.174**	**.198**	-.086
List proficiency	.114	.148	.111	.054	.002
3 min speech	.069	-.078	.069	.144	.049

N = 110. Critical value (*df*=108, directional decision) = .15

Table 4 Correlations with university achievement scores

	LLM total	P1	P2	P3	P4	Reported Enjoyment
Midterm Speaking	-.102	-.071	.154	-.202	-.043	-.050
Midterm Listening	-.010	.054	.115	-.036	-.086	-.014
Midterm Writing	**.443**	**.489**	**.532**	.204	.210	**.364**
Essay	**.325**	.209	**.522**	.208	.183	**.331**
Book reports	**.466**	**.343**	**.395**	**.364**	.299	**.438**
Oral Presentation	.263	.239	**.442**	.117	.126	**.373**
Final List test	.082	.102	.178	.045	-.013	-.120
Final R/V test	**.329**	.253	**.584**	-.045	**.388**	**.446**
Final Grade	.287	.234	**.615**	.085	.153	.252

N=27. Critical value (*df*=25, directional decision) = .323

Table 5 Correlations with university TOEFL scores

	LLM total	P1	P2	P3	P4	Reported Enjoyment
TOEFL Lis	.024	.054	.002	.187	-.186	-.277
TOEFL Str	.106	.193	.180	.111	-.105	.047
TOEFL Rdg	.345	**.568**	.070	.179	.128	**.392**
TOEFL	.257	**.440**	.134	.217	-.043	.109

N=23. Critical value (*df*=21, directional decision) = .359

Finally, a correlation matrix for the total score and four subtests was calculated to check for redundancy and interdependence (Table 2). It was suggested by one of the expert observers that since Part 4 uses vocabulary items memorized for Part 3, which in turn are written using the script learned in Part 2, poor performers are at a progressive disadvantage for each succeeding section. While it is difficult to judge the exact extent to which this is happening, the inter-correlations indicate a low degree of interdependence among the four subtests, with the strongest correlation between parts 1 and 2, which are *not* dependent on success in previous sections. Correlations among the subtests are low, and thus indicate that subtests are contributing non-redundant information to the total score. A score of testees reported enjoyment, drawn from their responses to Part 5, is also included in the matrix. It is interesting to note that the correlation between the total LLM score and reported Enjoyment is low, .32, indicating that testees who find it difficult may nevertheless find it interesting and enjoyable.

Correlational Analyses

For the high school administration, rather low but consistently positive correlations were found between the LLM and achievement scores. Correlations between the listening proficiency and speech ratings were not statistically significant. Results of the analysis are given in Table 3.

Correlations between the LLM and first-year university student's task grades and TOEFL scores, though still enigmatic, show stronger correlations. (Tables 4 and 5). Correlations appear to be strongest between the LLM and reading and writing tasks, rather than listening tasks. In fact, there were no significant correlations between the LLM and midterm or final listening tests, nor with the TOEFL listening section (The oral presentation, it should be noted, though an oral task, involves much written preparation and is assessed based on its content as well as its delivery). LLM Part 1, Lunic Numbers, was the strongest predictor of the TOEFL reading and the overall TOEFL score. In addition, the university students' reported enjoyment of the LLM was a significant predictor of their achievement in many of the tasks. The pattern of positive correlations between the LLM and the university students" achievement scores suggests that the LLM has some validity predicting success at reading and writing tasks where instruction is at least semi-intensive.

Discussion

While the LLM appears to be a reasonably reliable instrument, validity was not conclusively demonstrated by this pilot administration. In particular, correlations between the LLM and the high school achievement scores are disappointingly low. There are several possible explanations for this. The first possibility is that the LLM is simply not a valid, or at least a very good measure of aptitude. This seems unlikely, however, in view of the fact that item formats are based on formats previously validated by the MLAT and PLAB. Moreover, the high internal consistency of the LLM would indicate that it is measuring *something,* and if not aptitude, then what? As no one has had previous experience with the Lunic language, it cannot be the result of previous achievement. It seems more likely that the achievement criteria for this particular course were influenced less by aptitude than by other factors. Since the course met only two hours a week, and detailed study guides were given for all tests, motivated learners could easily make up for deficiencies in aptitude by applying greater effort. Correlations may also have been lower due to restricted range. The learners at this high school were screened by the rigorous entrance requirements, and the range of their aptitude and proficiency scores may be narrower than that of the general population, making it more difficult to achieve high correlations.

While several previous studies have found significant correlations between aptitude measures and classroom achievement scores such as those employed in this study (Carroll and Sapon, 1959; Horwitz, 1983; Gardner, Tremblay, & Masgoret, 1997), Sawyer (1998) working with first-year university students found no significant correlations between achievement scores and aptitude as measured by the Language Aptitude Battery for the Japanese (Sasaki, 1991). It may be the case that aptitude plays a diminished role in non-intensive instructional settings where typically, instructors set goals achievable by everyone, learners decide (consciously or unconsciously) how close they need come to meeting the goals, and then apply effort as needed. In other words, when aptitude and motivation are at odds, greater aptitude may lead to less effort rather than higher achievement.

The above interpretation is lent further weight by the fact that the LLM showed stronger correlations with achievement scores in the university's semi-intensive program, where learners are under much greater pressure to learn a lot in a short time. Here motivation, while no doubt still important, will play a lesser role as all learners struggle to absorb new language and complete assignments on time. It is still disappointing, however, that the strongest correlations were on written, rather than oral tasks. As the focus of language training in high schools and universities in Japan has been shifting toward the development of communicative skills, an aptitude test that predicts achievement in these areas is highly desirable. While some studies have reported correlations between aptitude and tests of oral ability (Horwitz, 1983; Skehan,1986; Parry and Child, 1990), others, such as Walker (1988) and Brecht (1991) have reported instances of aptitude predicting success at pencil and paper tasks while failing to predict success at oral tasks. Krashen (1981), of course, argued that aptitude was related to conscious learning and general intelligence, and would be most apparent on written tasks, where learners can consciously monitor what they are doing. Though the controversy is far from settled, it may be the case that the aptitude style tasks, or at least the tasks used in the current LLM subtests, are not particularly good predictors of oral performance.

Improving the LLM

The data gathered in this pilot administration suggest several ways in which future versions of the LLM can be improved. Part 1, Lunic Numbers, was the most successful subtest in terms of both reliability and validity. The negative skew of the distribution could probably be repaired by shortening the response time between items. Pre-administration trials indicated that it made a considerable difference whether testees were given three, four , or five seconds to process and write down each number. The current version allows five seconds, compared to the four second response time for MLAT's Number Learning. Before this section is "fixed" however, data is needed from a wider range of ability levels. It is doubtful that the participants in this administration, students from an elite private high school and a program specializing in language study, are representative of the general population. They may not be the ideal sample for norming the test.

Part 2, Lunic Writing, is the subsection most in need of revision. Part 2 requires testees to build associations between sounds and symbols based on medieval Runic characters. Pre-administration trials suggested to us that dealing with these exotic characters would be more difficult than the Roman-based phonetic script used in the MLAT. Apparently however, this was not the case with our Japanese participants, who returned a mean score of 89.5 on Part 2. Item discrimination (ID) analysis (see Brown, 1996, p. 66-69) showed ID values ranging from .31 to .50 in the first five problems where, by necessity, 6 new sound symbol combinations were introduced. However in subsequent sections, where only two new sound symbol combinations were introduced per five items, ID ranged only from .10 to .23. For future revisions, it would be desirable to make Part 2 more discriminating and if possible, shorter.

Part 3, Lunic Vocabulary, had a near normal distribution, with a slight positive skew. The initial administration at the high school allowed 3 minutes each for the memorization and testing phase. As many participants complained about the lack of time, both phases were each increased to four minutes for the subsequent university administration. This raised the mean score from 52 to 72 percent, with five out of forty-four participants at the university getting perfect scores, compared to three out of one hundred twelve at the high school. With hindsight, the shorter time, or perhaps a compromise of four minutes for the memorization phase and three minutes for testing, might be most appropriate. More experimentation with a wider range of abilities is needed to be certain.

Part 4, Lunic Grammar, has an appropriate distribution, but seems to have the least predictive power of all the subtests. Previous studies have reported MLAT's Words in Sentences, purported to be a measure of grammatical sensitivity, to be among the strongest predictors of success in formal classroom training (Weshe, 1981). It has been difficult to find corresponding data on PLAB's Language Analysis, which claims to measure inductive language learning ability, and on which this subtest was based. While Skehan's contention that grammatical sensitivity and inductive language learning ability are different manifestations of a single underlying trait has theoretical appeal, there is little or no empirical evidence to support it. They may in fact be quite different: grammatical sensitivity tapping an ability to apply grammatical intuitions in real time, and inductive language learning a more conscious ability to create and apply pattern-based rules. If such is the case, inductive language learning may have less relevance in formal training, where it is generally the teacher's job to present and explain rules. It would be desirable to design a test of grammatical sensitivity for a Japanese audience that does not depend on proficiency in English. Unfortunately, Japanese is not a suitable medium for the Words in Sentences format, as grammatical relations in Japanese are always explicitly marked with particles. MLAT's words in sentences makes clever use of English word order rules to disguise grammatical relations and create attractive distractors. Future work on the LLM might seek an item format in which grammatical relationships within Lunic sentences must be quickly and intuitively analyzed.

Finally, if aptitude tests are to be made more predictive of oral tasks and maintain their face validity in the era of communicative language teaching, new item formats with aural elements need to be developed. A test of oral productive capacity for Lunic words or sentences would be desirable, but probably not practical for administration to large classes. The vocabulary learning section, however, might be adapted to an aural format. Spoken words could be associated with pictures, for example. Another possibility would be to end the test with spoken Lunic sentences, and have testees choose the appropriate translation or a picture associated with the sentence. Such new item designs could help strengthen correlations between the LLM and oral performance.

Conclusion

This initial pilot has provided an abundance of data for evaluation and further development of the LLM. Much data, in fact, has yet to be examined. A scoring system for Part 5 must be developed in order to see if participants vary systematically in their preferences for and perceptions of the subtests, and if these variances have any relationship to task performance. We might also search for evidence of ability profiles. That is, do testees tend to have balanced results across the various sub-tests, or is it a common phenomenon to do poorly on one subtest but well on another? Much work remains to be done before the LLM is ready for its next phase.

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Chapter 9

The Language Teacher's Role: Cross-Cultural Perspectives

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Abstract

The expectations that students have of language teachers' behaviour and the extent to which these expectations are fulfilled can have an important impact on students' motivation, attitude to the language and level of anxiety and thus influence the outcomes of second language acquisition.

This study focuses on the cultural elements of students' expectations of teacher behaviour and teacher-organised activities in class by comparing answers of students in two different cultures (Japan and Russia) to questions about what a foreign language teacher should and should not do.

The study uses a cross-cultural research methodology involving a two-stage analysis conducted on the basis of two successive questionnaires. The responses of the subjects (Japanese and Russian university students majoring in humanities or technical subjects) to the original open-ended questionnaire allowed us to construct a second, "forced-choice scale" questionnaire from concepts suggested by students in both cultures. While the first stage of research provided a wide variety of responses, the second one was intended to clarify the hierarchy of students' values regarding the teacher's role.

The study reveals differences in students' expectations from one culture to another. Awareness of these differences should be a valuable weapon in the pedagogical armory of anybody who teaches students from one of the cultures, especially foreign teachers who may not be aware of the culturally based expectations their students have.

Globalisation may be a buzz-word in economics but it has long been a reality in the teaching of English as a foreign/second language. For decades, both teachers and students of English have crossed national frontiers in pursuit of language education. This pattern seems likely to become even more widespread in the future as remaining barriers to international travel are removed.

As they cross borders, teachers and students carry with them the undeclared baggage of cultural assumptions about what exactly should happen in a classroom (Andersen, 1985: p. 160). Often unconsciously held, these assumptions only become prominent when they meet practices which conflict with them. Carol Archer (1986) has characterised such conflicts as "culture bumps," in which people are discomforted to find that something they expected to happen in a classroom does not occur or vice versa: the Asian student who is shocked by a teacher who wants to be a friend; the Arab student who is bewildered at her teacher's anger when she apologises, at length, for coming to class late (Archer, 1986).

However, the effects of such cultural clashes in the classroom can be more serious than Archer's characterisation suggests. Repeated disconfirmation of expectations can have a negative effect on a student's motivation, attitude to the target language and culture, and level of anxiety. We know that these factors can, in turn, influence language learning outcomes (Cohen, 1969; Felder & Henriques, 1995).

Our study set out to uncover some of the unspoken assumptions that students have about educational settings. In particular, we focus on cross-cultural differences. This is not to deny that personal and local factors such as gender, age and regional affiliation have an influence on students' thinking or to imply that our findings will apply to every member of the cultures we have studied. Rather, we have chosen this approach because it allows us to highlight the kind of differences that students and teachers should be sensitive to when they move from one culture to another.

Our study involved university students in Japan and Russia. We chose these groups primarily because they are the ones that interest us most: we are both foreign university teachers in Japan, VM from Russia and SR from Britain but with a strong interest in Russia. The expectations that Japanese students have of language teachers have been analysed before (Mar, 1980; Durham & Ryan, 1992) in comparison with archetypal "Western" cultures (Australia and the US). We are not aware of any comparative studies involving Russian students, nor any studies in Russia that look at expectations of foreign language teachers. The comparative element should be enlightening on both sides: offering a new (non-Western) perspective on Japan and throwing light on unexplored territory in Russia.

Russia is intriguing territory for cross-cultural research as it is considered to combine cultural elements from both East and West (Parker, 1977: p. 23).

In this paper we report on the part of our study which focussed on expectations about the teacher's role in the language classroom, including the teacher's attitude to students, skills and actions in class.

Research Strategy

Our study is exploratory in that, apart from the expectation that Japanese and Russian students would respond differently, we did not seek to test any particular hypotheses. Ideally, researchers undertaking exploratory cross-cultural research come to it with no expectations whatsoever, lest their own assumptions and prejudices influence decisions about what to look for, how to look for it and what it all means. For this reason, we did not begin our project with a library search for background information on the cultures we were studying. We preferred to go first to our research subjects and let them speak to us as directly as possible, without having to address us through a haze of assumptions and prejudices on our part. This is a research methodology employed extensively by Barnlund (Nomura and Barnlund, 1983; Barnlund and Araki, 1985) in similar exploratory studies.

It is not our intention to ignore the existing studies on roles and interaction patterns in the two cultures. However, since our research design does not take previous research as its jumping-off point we propose to refer to the literature on this topic in a later section of this paper when discussing the findings of our survey, rather than implying that our research was influenced from the start by the findings of others.

A number of other researchers have focussed specifically on students' expectations of teachers cross-culturally, using a variety of research methodologies. Several studies have focussed on students' descriptions of "outstanding teachers." Mar (1980) found no difference between such descriptions from Japanese and Japanese-American students. Quereshi (1980), in a similar study with Pakistani and US American students, also found no differences in their descriptions of the best teachers but did find differences in their descriptions of the worst teachers. Radford (1980), however, found clear differences in expectations of outstanding teachers between Saudi and US American college students.

Our expectation that students from different cultures will respond differently to questions about the role of the teacher is supported by a number of studies asking such questions: Sun (1964) looked at the views of Chinese and US American university students; Chapman and Kelley (1981) at those of Iranian and US American high school students; Bail & Mina (1981) at Filipino and US American students and McCargar (1993) at ESL students from seven different countries. All found differences across cultures. Durham and Ryan (1993), in a study using a similar methodology to our own, found significant differences between expectations of university teachers held by Japanese and Australian students.

Methodology

The investigation was conducted in three stages:

Stage one: A sample of students in both cultures was asked to respond, in writing, to four open-ended questions about a "foreign language teacher at the university level," including:

1. What do you think a foreign language teacher ought to do in class? and
2. What should a foreign language teacher not do in class?

The students responded in their native languages.

Stage two: A questionnaire was drawn up, based on a content analysis of the responses to the open question. Care was taken to ensure that answers suggested by students in both cultures were included so that each group had a chance to react to the other's ideas along with their own.

The content analysis suggested seven major areas of concern to the students. Answers to the original open-ended questions were listed under these seven headings as possible responses to the single question "What, in your opinion, makes a good foreign language teacher at university?" The headings included: "The teacher's attitude to students" "The teacher's skills" "What the teacher should teach" and "The teacher's actions in class." They were followed by a list of possible responses collected from responses to the open-ended questions. There were 93 possible responses in all.

Respondents were asked to indicate on a 5-point Likert scale how important they thought each of the factors were in making a good foreign language teacher at university.

The questionnaire was originally drawn up in English (the common language of the researchers) and then translated into Japanese and Russian using the Werner-Campbell (Werner & Campbell (1970) back-translation method to ensure, as far as possible, that the three versions of the questionnaire were equivalent.

Stage 3: The questionnaire was administered, in the appropriate language, to students in both cultures and the results analysed statistically.

We employed this research methodology, a modification of Barnlund's (Nomura and Barnlund, 1983; Barnlund and Araki, 1985), because it allowed us to stay as close as possible to the initial responses provided by students' in both cultures to our open questions, while allowing them also to respond to answers to the questions provided by students in the other culture, thus ensuring the content validity of the questionnaire. Since we were attempting to explore rather amorphous concepts of "the good foreign language teacher" rather than to measure previously defined traits, traditional measures of construct validity (Griffee, 1997) were not appropriate. As a result, our claims for the validity of the questionnaire rest on the manner of its construction.

Obviously, a certain amount of subjectivity was involved in the selection and categorisation of responses in stage 2. We saw this as a necessary step in converting the disparate answers from stage 1 into a meaningful questionnaire that would produce responses amenable to statistical interpretation. We tried to reduce the subjectivity involved here by:

1) being as inclusive as possible: only answers given by 2 or fewer respondents to stage 1 were excluded from stage 3.

2) establishing a dialogue between the two researchers on the categorisation of responses so that the final questionnaire reflects the cultural viewpoint of neither of them.

3) keeping the categorisation as loose as possible.

The large number of items on the questionnaire and the fact that it was constructed after consulting groups of students similar to those who responded to it should tend to enhance the reliability of the instrument. Statistical measures of reliability, however, were not attempted, again because the exploratory nature of the research and the relatively amorphous concepts we were attempting to explore.

Participants and Their Environment

The students who participated in the study were all university students with less than two months' experience outside their own country. They included language majors and non-language majors from both humanities and technical disciplines. They were drawn from three universities in Japan: a small, top-level women's university in Kansai, a large, middle-ranked engineering university also in Kansai and a medium-sized, middle ranked general university in Kanto; and two in Russia: a prestigious engineering university and a top-ranking general university, both in St. Petersburg.

There are marked differences in the university environments in the two countries and in the role of foreign language learning at university. Although Russia has long respected educated, cultured people, times are very hard and anybody entering a university nowadays will have made a conscious decision to delay entering the work-force in order to enhance job-prospects by studying a particular subject. They usually study in small classes with aging text-books. Foreign teachers are a rarity. By contrast, Japanese students often enter university as a matter of course and have little say in the specific department they enter. The value added by a university education is perceived mainly in terms of the prestige of the university which a student is able to enter. Class sizes are often large, modern facilities relatively abundant and foreign teachers fairly common.

Russia is a muli-lingual, multi-cultural country, where studying a foreign language offers a means of contact with the wider world. A knowledge of English or German is seen as being potentially lucrative. Japan contains less cultural and linguistic diversity within its borders and learning a foreign language is seen as the only way to have contact with other cultures and peoples.

These differences will clearly be important in interpreting the results of our survey and will be discussed further later in the paper.

A detailed description of demographic information on students' involved in stage 3 will be given here. The stage 1 sample was similar but less well-balanced in terms of gender.

There were 166 Japanese respondents and 159 Russian. Samples from both cultures were reasonably well-balanced in terms of gender (Japanese: 55.4% m, 44.6% f; Russian: 42.1% m, 57.9% f). This is important as gender is known to be an important variable in both cultural and language-learning studies (Triandis, 1995: pp. 61-67; Sunderland, 1994).

The age-range of samples in the two cultures differed as Russian students generally begin university at a younger age than do Japanese. The Japanese sample ranged in age from 18 to 24 with a mean of 20.4 years and a standard deviation of 1.0. The Russians were all between 17 and 24, with a mean of 18.3 years and a standard deviation of 1.2.

Both samples were similarly balanced between technical and humanities students, with 44.6% of the Japanese and 42.8% of the Russians being technical majors and the rest humanities majors.

Procedure

Questionnaires (stage 1 and stage 3) were distributed during language lessons and students were requested to respond anonymously. Some students completed questionnaires in class and others brought them back completed the next day. The anonymity of respondents was stressed and they were told that it was part of a research project rather than an evaluation procedure for their current course.

Responses were tabulated and analysed using SPSS software. To mitigate the possibility of a cultural response set (the tendency for respondents from a given culture to use only one part of a Likert-scale), each respondent's answers were standardised by converting them to z scores before responses from each country were aggregated and analysed (Matsumoto, 1994). Matsumoto (p. 34) gives the example of a survey using a 7-point scale like ours, conducted in the US and Hong Kong. Across all items on the questionnaire, Americans responses were generally around 5 or 6, whereas Hong Kong responses were around 4 or 5. Apparent differences in mean country scores were in fact an artefact of the way the scale was used in each country. Converting responses to z scores (mean = 0, SD = 1) removes this potential source of bias.

Means and standard deviations were calculated for each item in each of the cultures. The means were compared using t-tests.

Results

Tables 1, 2, 3 and 4 show the mean scores and standard deviations for Russian and Japanese responses to the sections of the questionnaire dealing with the teacher's role. Scores are reported as z scores rather than on the original 5-point scale but it is still true that the higher the score the more importance the respondents gave to the item. Each table presents the items in descending order of importance.

Asterisks are used to indicate differences between the two cultures which are statistically significant at the .01 (**) and .05 (*) levels.

Discussion

There are two ways to read tables 1 - 4. They can be read separately as a profile of expectations of teachers in each culture, or they can be compared to reveal cross-cultural differences. For each of the tables of results, we will look first at the profile of expectations in each of the cultures and then at the comparison.

The Teacher's Attitude to Students

Japan. The Japanese respondents consider it important that their teachers should combine friendliness and fairness. They value good communication with their teachers and a relationship in which they are treated as equals. They assign less importance to suggestions that the teacher's relationship with students should be vertical: being demanding or strict and scolding students are all considered unimportant.

Traditionally, it is vertical relations which have characterised teacher-student relationships in Japan (Nakane, 1970). The teacher was respected and even feared by students and was expected to do very little to make them feel comfortable.

Interestingly, warm, friendly teacher-student relations are much more likely to be found in modern-day Japanese high schools than they are in universities. High school homeroom teachers seek to build up close relationships with the students in their class (Ryan, 1995). University education, which takes place mainly in large lecture-style classes, allows little chance for friendly relations between teachers and students, at least until the fourth year when students work in smaller seminar groups under the close supervision of a teacher. It could be that the importance the Japanese respondents attach to friendliness and equality in teacher-student relations is a result of nostalgia for the warmer, more nurturing relations of their high school days.

While university classes are generally large, language classes tend to be an exception and the possibility for close teacher-student relations does exist. Exploiting this possibility could be helpful in motivating Japanese students to study English.

Russia. The Russian students were very concerned to be respected by their teachers. They felt it was important for the teacher to be respectful and polite and not shout at them, treat them unfairly or threaten them. They assigned less importance to the idea of teachers forcing them to do things.

These responses may reflect a general attitude to authority in Russia. Accustomed during the Soviet era to being abused and ill-treated by people in authority, including those whose job was to inform, direct or educate people, Russian people tend to crave respect and fair treatment (Genevra, 1974: p. 71). People were treated as members of a group in Soviet schools rather than as individuals. Reaction against this was strong and, even in the Brezhnev era, there was talk of the need to "humanitize" society, especially high schools (Kohanovich *et al*, 1994).

Visitors to Russia have often noted the rudeness of people in authority when dealing with ordinary people. This has resulted from the fact that, during the Soviet era, teachers (and other people in authority) ran no risk of losing their jobs if they treated people badly. In public universities (such as the ones surveyed here), even in the post-Soviet era, teachers are so poorly paid that they have little to fear from the loss of their jobs. This, combined with the "tradition" of treating people rudely and the stress of a badly or unpaid job, could well lead to treatment that would make students long for respect and politeness.

A teacher looking to motivate language students in a Russian university would be well advised to treat them with respect.

Comparison. Table 5 shows the statistically significant differences between the two cultures on this question.

To a large extent items showing significant differences have been dealt with in the foregoing discussion of profiles of expectations of the teacher's attitude in each country. This is important as it means that several of the most salient expectations in each country are also the ones on which students from the two countries are most likely to disagree. Thus, the relationship of equals which is very important to Japanese respondents is rejected by Russian respondents, who are more likely than the Japanese to say that the teacher should respect the students and not be familiar with them, and vice versa.

An interesting contrast not previously discussed in this paper is the disagreement over whether it is important for the teacher to be demanding. The Russian students are more likely to agree with this item, the Japanese students with its mirror-opposite (NOT be demanding). This contrast parallels one reported by Durham and Ryan (1992) in their study of Japanese and Australian students: they found that Japanese students, generally, were hoping to be entertained in the university classroom, whereas the Australians were hoping to be educated.

Table 1. Means and standard deviations from each country for items headed "The teacher's attitude to students."

JAPAN

Attitude	Mean	SD
be objective, fair	0.58	0.82
be friendly	0.48	0.74
treat students as equals**	0.47	0.79
NOT threaten students	0.47	0.97
NOT treat students unfairly	0.47	1.00
have good communication with students	0.47	0.70
be approachable*	0.43	0.86
create a stress-free environment	0.41	0.81
NOT teach without thinking of students	0.33	1.02
deal with students as individuals	0.21	0.83
be tactful	0.11	0.78
NOT be haughty	0.05	1.06
NOT be too demanding**	-0.28	0.99
be polite*	-0.31	0.88
NOT raise voice**	-0.39	0.97
NOT be very strict[1]	-0.39	0.96
be respectful*	-0.40	0.87
NOT shout*	-0.46	0.97
be business-like*	-0.56	0.87
NOT force students to study**	-0.60	0.96
NOT scold students*	-0.78	0.92
be strict	-0.81	0.85
be demanding*	-0.98	0.84
NOT be familiar with students*	-1.86	1.01

RUSSIA

Attitude	Mean	SD
be respectful*	0.53	0.55
be objective, fair	0.47	0.68
have good communication with students	0.43	0.64
NOT shout*	0.40	0.91
NOT treat students unfairly	0.39	0.86
NOT threaten students	0.39	0.94
be polite*	0.37	0.63
create a stress-free environment	0.35	0.71
be friendly	0.33	0.66
NOT teach without thinking of students	0.31	0.93
NOT be haughty	0.30	0.77
be tactful	0.28	0.67
NOT scold students*	0.18	0.91
deal with students as individuals	0.09	0.81
NOT be familiar with students*	0.01	0.91
NOT raise voice**	-0.04	0.97
be approachable	-0.05	0.89
be demanding*	-0.27	0.94
treat students as equals**	-0.48	1.04
NOT be too demanding**	-0.63	1.02
NOT force students to study**	-0.95	1.23
be business-like*	-1.06	0.96
be strict	-1.08	0.97

[1] This attitude was inadvertently omitted from the Russian version of the questionnaire.

Table 2. Means and standard deviations from each country for items headed "The teacher's skills."

JAPAN

Skill	Mean	SD
be good at interesting students in the subject*	0.82	0.63
be easy to understand	0.79	0.53
explain understandably	0.77	0.60
be good at explaining things	0.76	0.62
NOT be difficult to understand*	0.75	0.61
make the lessons interesting*	0.68	0.65
give enjoyable lessons*	0.60	0.66
have good pronunciation	0.52	0.75
be knowledgeable	0.49	0.76
NOT bore students	0.33	0.77
motivate students*	0.33	0.73

RUSSIA

be good at explaining things	0.78	0.42
explain understandably	0.71	0.42
be easy to understand	0.66	0.48
be knowledgeable	0.57	0.52
be good at interesting students in the subject**	0.53	0.60
NOT be difficult to understand*	0.47	0.66
have good pronunciation	0.43	0.74
make the lessons interesting*	0.39	0.59
NOT bore students	0.24	0.78
give enjoyable lessons*	0.22	0.71
motivate students*	-0.11	0.72

Table 3. Means and standard deviations from each country for items headed "What the teacher should teach."

JAPAN

teach useful English*	0.89	0.59
teach real/living English	0.83	0.63
teach daily conversation	0.64	0.73
teach pronunciation	0.43	0.80
teach about foreign culture*	-0.01	0.80
teach grammar*	-0.44	0.79
teach literature*	-0.62	0.88
NOT teach grammar*	-1.32	1.01

RUSSIA

teach real/living English	0.67	0.47
teach daily conversation	0.48	0.70
teach pronunciation	0.44	0.60
teach useful English*	0.44	0.63
teach grammar*	0.25	0.69
teach literature*	-0.19	0.81
teach about foreign culture*	-0.37	0.92
NOT teach grammar*	-2.03	1.22

Table 4. Means and standard deviations from each country for items headed "The teacher's actions in class."

JAPAN

teach lively lessons*	0.60	0.65
give students the opportunity to speak	0.49	67
make students speak L2*	0.44	0.76
teach lessons at an appropriate level for the students**	0.33	0.79
NOT just follow the textbook*	0.24	0.84
teach in a variety of ways	0.21	0.65
correct mistakes*	0.17	0.71
correct pronunciation	0.13	0.80
teach**	-0.01	0.72
transmit knowledge*	-0.05	0.71
check students' progress[1]	-0.07	0.81
speak slowly*	-0.09	0.86
be ready to use L1 if necessary	-0.19	1.06
be novel	-0.20	0.76
NOT get distracted by personal matters**	-0.22	0.93
NOT give much homework*	-0.29	0.91
NOT teach pointless lessons**	-0.33	1.20
use records/tapes	-0.39	0.91
NOT speak quickly*	-0.44	1.02
use videos	-0.47	0.86
review*	-0.49	0.75
do many exercises**	-0.50	0.83
pay attention to grammar*	-0.56	0.79
use L2 only**	-0.76	0.98
NOT speak L1	-1.03	0.92
NOT get side-tracked	-1.11	0.91
NOT talk about personal life	-1.32	0.92

RUSSIA

correct mistakes*	0.48	0.53
transmit knowledge*	0.37	0.60
give students the opportunity to speak	0.34	0.62
teach in a variety of ways	0.33	0.58
teach**	0.30	0.78
correct pronunciation	0.27	0.66
NOT teach pointless lessons**	0.06	1.13
teach lessons at an appropriate level for the students**	0.04	0.97
teach lively lessons*	0.02	0.74
be novel	0.01	0.69
pay attention to grammar*	-0.04	0.74
review*	-0.05	0.69
be ready to use L1 if necessary	-0.06	0.95
make students speak L2*	-0.17	1.06
use videos	-0.24	1.01
use records/tapes	-0.30	1.01
NOT just follow the textbook*	-0.40	1.21
NOT get distracted by personal matters**	-0.61	1.08
NOT give much homework*	-0.69	1.07
speak slowly*	-0.77	1.04
do many exercises**	-0.79	0.82
NOT talk about personal life	-1.05	1.08
NOT speak quickly*	-1.05	1.07
use L2 only**	-1.1	1.00
NOT get side-tracked	-1.16	0.98
NOT speak L1	-1.19	1.03

[1] This attitude was inadvertently omitted from the Russian version of the questionnaire.

Table 5. Items showing significant differences between countries from the category "The teacher's attitude to students."

	JAPAN		RUSSIA	
	mean	SD	mean	SD
Items which the Japanese students considered more important than the Russians did:				
be approachable*	0.43	0.86	-0.05	0.89
be business-like*	-0.56	0.87	-1.06	0.96
treat students as equals**	0.47	0.79	-0.48	1.04
NOT be too demanding**	-0.28	0.99	-0.63	1.02
NOT force students to study**	-0.60	0.96	-0.95	1.23
Items which the Russian students considered more important than the Japanese did:				
be demanding*	-0.98	0.84	-0.27	0.94
be polite*	-0.31	0.88	0.37	0.63
be respectful*	-0.40	0.87	0.53	0.55
NOT be familiar with students*	-1.86	1.01	0.01	0.91
NOT scold students*	-0.78	0.92	0.18	0.91
NOT shout*	-0.46	0.97	0.40	0.91
NOT raise voice**	-0.39	0.97	-0.04	0.97

Table 6. Items showing significant differences between countries from the category "The teacher's skills."

	JAPAN		RUSSIA	
	mean	SD	mean	SD
Items which the Japanese students considered more important than the Russians did:				
be good at interesting students in the subject*	0.82	0.63	0.53	0.60
NOT be difficult to understand*	0.75	0.61	0.47	0.66
make the lessons interesting*	0.68	0.65	0.39	0.59
give enjoyable lessons*	0.60	0.66	0.22	0.71
motivate students*	0.33	0.73	-0.11	0.72
Items which the Russian students considered more important than the Japanese did:				
None				

Table 7. Items showing significant differences between countries from the category "What the teacher should teach."

	JAPAN		RUSSIA	
	mean	SD	mean	SD
Items which the Japanese students considered more important than the Russians did:				
teach about foreign culture*	-0.01	0.80	-0.37	0.92
NOT teach grammar*	-1.32	1.01	-2.03	1.22
Items which the Russian students considered more important than the Japanese did:				
teach grammar*	-0.44	0.79	0.25	0.69
teach literature*	-0.62	0.88	-0.19	0.81

Kelly (1993) has characterised the 4 years that Japanese students spend at university as "leisure-land," a welcome beak between the rigours of study for university entrance exams and the demands of company life after graduation. In Russia, though, where economic times are very hard, students enter university looking for enhancement of their future job-prospects. This is particularly true of language students who hope to be able to sell the foreign language skills they have acquired at university. Little wonder, then, that they are more eager than the Japanese to have a demanding teacher.

The Teacher's Skills

It is noteworthy that the reaction of both Russian and Japanese students to items in this category was overwhelmingly positive. Very few students scored any of these items in the bottom half of the 5-point scale. While it is tempting to conclude that, for both groups, the skills of the teacher are more important than any other factor, the truth is that this is probably a consequence of our research design. It is reasonable to imagine students responding to our open questions with a list of attitudes they find undesirable in a teacher (which, in fact, they did), it would be unreasonable to expect this procedure to produce a list of skills not wanted in the classroom.

Japan. The Japanese respondents considered it very important that their teachers should be able to make their subject interesting and understandable.

It is common in Japan for university students to decide their major based, not on personal taste or vocation, but on their performance on standardised tests in high schools and cram schools. All university departments are ranked according to the test score necessary to enter them. Students reaching a particular score will be able to choose from a number of departments in various universities but their preference for a particular subject is a secondary consideration: their test-scores determine their choice to a great extent. If students have not actively chosen a particular subject, it is not surprising that they look to the teacher to make the subject interesting to them.

As for comprehensibility, it has been noted that clarity of expression is not a key factor in Japanese academic prose (Hinds, 1987). Hinds argues that the writer does not bear the major responsibility for making sure the message is communicated clearly. It is the reader who must figure out what is being said. Evidence that this also applies to university-level lectures comes from a survey of Japanese university students ("Students" 1988) which found that 80% of them had great difficulty in understanding regular content lectures given in Japanese.

Russia. The Russian respondents also value the teacher's explanatory skills above all the others listed. They also consider it important for the teacher to be knowledgeable.

Taken together, these two factors may be a result of the Russian students' desire (discussed previously) to get as much value as they can from their time at university. If teachers are not knowledgeable or cannot explain things well, students will feel thwarted in their main goal of enhancing their employment prospects.

Comparison. Table 6 shows the statistically significant differences between the two cultures on this question.

They appear to be mainly differences in emphasis and degree rather than fundamental disagreements about the nature of a language teacher's skill base (as with the teacher's attitude to students). Being understandable and teaching enjoyable lessons are important in both cultures but much more so in Japan.

There seems to be an insistence from the Japanese respondents that the teacher should make lessons interesting and enjoyable. This "pleasure-principle" can be seen in many other aspects of Japanese life, especially for people of college-age. The language-teacherly question "What did you do at the weekend?" invariably elicits the response "I played" from university students. Judging by the number of students involved in drinking, gambling and visits to Tokyo Disneyland, this would appear to be quite truthful. Kelly (1993) argues that Japanese college students have a lot of catching up to do: they have applied themselves to their books throughout their teenage years in order to get into university and then, once in, go through an intense process of experimentation with pleasures of the flesh and the mind, which Kelly associates with the high-school and junior-high period in the US. Lessons at the university may well be the least stimulating part of their lives. Ryan and Durham (1996) found that, if they were taught by a teacher who spent more time telling jokes than teaching the subject, Japanese students were more likely than Australians to say they would sit back and enjoy it (while the Australians were more likely to complain in some way).

We are not suggesting that Russian students are any less interested in pleasure than anybody else but that, despite their younger age, their approach to learning is more mature than that of their Japanese counterparts. The tough social and economic conditions in which they live appear to have a sobering effect on their expectations of university teachers.

They are also less likely than the Japanese respondents to consider that motivating students is an important part of the role of the teacher. This suggests that they are more likely than the Japanese students to bring their own motivation with them, having made a conscious decision to pursue higher education. Japanese students tend to enter university, if they are capable of it, as a matter of course and then look to the teacher for motivation.

Interestingly, in the open-question stage of our study (Makarova & Ryan, 1997) the Japanese students were much less likely than the Russians to say that the teacher should be knowledgeable but, in the second round, there was no statistical significance between the two groups on this item. The difference may well lie in the way the questions were put: asked to list the qualities of a good teacher, Japanese students do not automatically include the word "knowledgeable" but asked to say if it is important that a teacher be knowledgeable, they answer yes. It may well be that, in a Confucian culture like Japan's, the idea of being a teacher is so closely linked with being knowledgeable that it "goes without saying."

What the Teacher Should Teach

Japan. The responses appear to reflect the widely held view that Japan's English education is deficient in useful, useable English. Preparation for university entrance exams. dominates the high school curriculum and is done mainly through a grammar- and text-heavy approach which resembles the Grammar-Translation Method (Hino, 1988). Perceiving this approach to be of little practical use beyond the entrance tests, university students are eager to be taught a more realistic, living version of English.

Apparently the English they want to learn is heavily oral, based on daily conversation and good pronunciation. This is more important to them than learning about foreign cultures. Literature gets short shrift.

Their feelings about grammar seem to be ambivalent: "teaching grammar" is said to be unimportant but "NOT teaching grammar" is even less important. The large dose of it they had in high school has perhaps convinced them of its importance in learning a language, while leaving them with little appetite for more.

Russia. The Russian respondents were also eager to be taught a real/living version of English which includes daily conversation and good pronunciation. In this case this desire may not come so much from a reaction to high school curricula as from a perception that living, spoken English will be a lucrative skill in the job market.

In reality, living English can be hard to find in the Russian university classroom. Textbooks are often old and based on nineteenth century novels. Replacing these books with more modern materials is an expensive proposition in these bleak economic times.

Their reaction to the idea of not being taught grammar is particularly strong: from the Russian respondents, "NOT teach grammar" received the lowest rating of any item on the survey, from either culture, by quite a large margin. Clearly they see the teaching of grammar as being an essential part of what a language teacher should do.

Comparison. Table 7 shows clearly that it is far more important for the Russians than for the Japanese that a language teacher should teach grammar. Possible reasons for this have been suggested above. It is part of a general picture of Russians as more serious students of language than the Japanese.

Teaching foreign cultures is more important for the Japanese respondents than for the Russians, although neither group rated it as particularly important. This is perhaps best understood in terms of Japan's self-perception as a mono-cultural nation and Russia's multiculturalism: one does not need to learn a foreign language to have direct contact with another culture in Russia, whereas in Japan learning about another culture is often treated as being synonymous with learning English. Since the mid-1980's internationalisation (*kokusai-ka*) has been a buzz-word in Japan. It seems to be reflected in a modicum of interest among university students to learn about other cultures by taking English lessons.

The relative importance that the Russian respondents accorded to the teaching of literature, again seems to be indicative of their serious approach to language study. It is perhaps not surprising from a country which is so proud of its own literary heritage (Parker, 1977: p. 25).

The Teacher's Actions in Class

Japan. Above all, the Japanese respondents felt it was important that a teacher teach lively, varied lessons that are appropriate for the students and in which the students speak a lot. This fits in with the picture painted by previous responses: the desire for entertainment in the classroom, the dislike of lessons that take little account of the students and the importance attached to learning spoken language have all been noted already.

The bottom of Table 4 (i.e. the least important items) is a mixed bag but contains some interesting contrasts with items higher up the table. Although they wish to learn the spoken language, students do not react well to the suggestion that the teacher speak only the target language; in fact they consider it much more important that the teacher use their L1 "if necessary." Grammar, as we have seen before, is low in its importance as are the exercises used to internalise it, although they do consider it important that the teacher should correct "mistakes," including pronunciation mistakes. They are not opposed to teachers' talking about their personal lives but would rather they not be distracted by personal matters.

Russia. The Russian students felt the teacher's most important role was to correct mistakes and transmit knowledge. This casts the teacher in a traditionally didactic role.

They also thought it important for the teacher to give the students the opportunity to speak, although without forcing them (perhaps an element of the respect they feel should characterise the teacher's attitude to students), and to teach in a variety of ways. The last few items in the table suggest that they would not object if the variety of teaching approaches included the teacher getting side-tracked or talking about his/her private life.

The bottom of the table also shows that they react negatively to the idea that the teacher should speak only the target language. When the target language is spoken, though, they do not object to its being spoken quickly. This is possibly a reflection of a relatively advanced level in the foreign language or a desire not to be spoon-fed. It fits in well with their desire for "real" English.

Comparison. The image of the Russian students as more serious in their language studies than the Japanese, built up elsewhere in this discussion, is confirmed by Table 8. All the items they rank significantly higher than the Japanese do are connected with getting as much language instruction from the teacher as possible: a teacher should correct mistakes, transmit knowledge, review, pay attention to grammar, teach[1] and avoid teaching pointless lessons.

In some ways, the Japanese seem to be looking for an easier life than the Russians: they would like lively lessons, from a teacher who speaks slowly, without much homework. They are not so concerned that knowledge be transmitted, or reviewed and if they make mistakes, are less eager than the Russians to have them corrected. This last point may be a reflection of general ambivalence to mastery of the language or may be connected with the loss of face involved in having one's mistakes corrected.

Other items, however, suggest that the picture is less simple: they are more

Table 8. Items showing significant differences between countries from the category "The teacher's actions in class."

	JAPAN		RUSSIA	
	mean	SD	mean	SD
Items which the Japanese students considered more important than the Russians did:				
teach lively lessons*	0.60	0.65	0.02	0.74
make students speak L2*	0.44	0.76	-0.17	1.06
NOT just follow the textbook*	0.24	0.84	-0.40	1.21
speak slowly*	-0.09	0.86	-0.77	1.04
NOT give much homework*	-0.29	0.91	-0.69	1.07
NOT speak quickly*	-0.44	1.02	-1.05	1.07
NOT get distracted by personal matters**	-0.22	0.93	-0.61	1.08
teach lessons at an appropriate level for the students**	0.33	0.79	0.04	0.97
do many exercises**	-0.50	0.83	-0.79	0.82
use L2 only**	-0.76	0.98	-1.1	1.00
Items which the Russian students considered more important than the Japanese did:				
correct mistakes*	0.17	0.71	0.48	0.53
transmit knowledge*	-0.05	0.71	0.37	0.60
review*	-0.49	0.75	-0.05	0.69
pay attention to grammar*	-0.56	0.79	-0.04	0.74
teach**	-0.01	0.72	0.30	0.78
NOT teach pointless lessons**	-0.33	1.20	0.06	1.13

likely than the Russians to say that it is important for the teacher to make them speak the target language, to use only the target language herself and to give them exercises to do.

The relative importance they attach to the use of the target language in the classroom may be a result of the comparative rarity of lessons in Japan in which English is actually spoken (partly a reflection of class sizes considerably larger than usually found in Russia). However, since both groups agree that the teacher should "give students the opportunity to speak," it seems more likely that their response to "make students speak L2" is a reflection of their greater tolerance (than the Russians) of a teacher compelling them to do something.

Directions for Further Investigation

Since our study was exploratory, we can draw no firm conclusions from it but we can use it as a basis for suggesting directions for further, more detailed research.

Using similar groups of students in the two countries it would be interesting to employ a different research methodology (perhaps case-studies or role-plays) to investigate one or more of the following hypotheses:

- that there are several similarities in the expectations of the students, including the importance attached to:
  - the teacher's having a fair, impartial attitude
  - the teacher's explaining things in an understandable way
  - the teaching of real, conversational language

- variety in teaching approaches.

- that Russian students prefer a more serious approach from their teachers than do Japanese students
- that Japanese students are looking for friendliness from and a sense of equality with teachers, whereas Russian students are looking for respect
- that Russian students attach more importance to grammar and literature and Japanese students to learning about foreign culture
- that Russian students are more interested in receiving knowledge and correction from their teacher, whereas Japanese students prefer lively lessons with less pedagogical content

A further study involving students at a different level of the school systems of the two countries (high school, junior high), would be useful in identifying differences and similarities at different educational levels.

Similar studies involving students from other countries would enhance our understanding of exactly which expectations of teachers are likely to vary across cultures and which to remain relatively stable.

Implications for Teachers

The broad implication of our study is clear: teachers should not assume that students in different cultures will have the same expectations about the role of the foreign language teacher. Whilst there are clearly similarities in the expectations of students in the two countries, our study is also suggestive of a number of areas of difference.

We do not propose that teachers working in these countries should strive to fulfil every one of the expectations of their students. We do, however, suggest that a knowledge of their students' expectations will make them better equipped to take pedagogical decisions about their own role than they would be if they assumed that all students come to the language classroom with basically the same expectations. As we have stressed before, our findings should not be applied on an individual level. However, they do indicate areas in which foreign teachers working in Japan and Russia should look for differences.

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Notes

[1] The question of how important it is for a teacher to teach seems to have baffled the Japanese respondents (and the translators): only 77.6% of them answered this question and many of those wrote question-marks in the margin.

Chapter 10

Japanese Secondary Students Attaining Oral Proficiency: Interviews With More and Less Proficient Individuals

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When I meet Japanese individuals who are uncommonly good speakers of English I wonder *how* they developed their skill; if their schools or outside lessons were providing some special learning opportunities or if they were doing something special on their own. I also wonder *why* they got so good; if they had some special motivation or attitudes that spurred them on and supported them. My personal curiosity as a teacher led me to look in detail at the English learning careers of individuals.

This study is in the tradition of good language learner (GLL) studies (e.g. Rubin, 1975) that seek to eventually improve the learning of other less successful learners by finding out what the successful learners are doing right. I was influenced by the kind of questions asked in interviews of GLLs (especially in Naiman, Frölich, Stern, and Todesco, 1978) and by knowledge of factors often identified in GLL studies. For example, Ellis (1994, p. 546) surveys eight studies done between 1975 and 1989 and finds "(1) a concern for language form, (2) a concern for communication (functional practice), (3) an active task approach, (4) an awareness of the learning process, and (5) a capacity to use strategies flexibly in accordance with task requirements."

This study also examines several factors which fall into the broad area of individual learner differences (IDs), where one finds studies of aptitude and other cognitive factors, age, learning style, personality, strategies, beliefs, motivation, and affective states such as anxiety. Skehan (1989) comprehensively examined the ID field, and recently looked again at learning styles (1998), while a recent general review of IDs is to be found in Segalowitz (1997). Researchers in Japan have surveyed learners' beliefs and attitudes (e.g. Redfield,1995; Gobel, 1996; Gaies and Sakui, 1998), strategies (e.g., Nunnelley, 1993; Watanabe, 1992; Willis, 1996), motivation or learning orientation (e.g., Berwick and Ross, 1989; Koizumi and Matsuo, 1993; Johnson and Takeo, 1996; Yamashiro, 1998), and preferred learning styles (e.g., Hyland, 1994; Ishikawa, 1996; Yamashita, 1996).

Taken together, these and other second language acquisition (SLA) surveys of Japanese learners make plain the dissonance between what learners believe, what and how they want to learn, and the learning opportunities they find and perhaps exploit at their schools. However, when each of these types of ID factors are isolated and are examined in separate studies with a different population of learners, it is not easy to know how factors affect each other. One can only guess, for example, that teachers could tap into motivation A to encourage learners to engage in strategy B. Furthermore, the individual is lost sight of in questionnaire-based surveys of individual differences whose overly general questions do not provide a rounded picture of a specific learner acting for a specific purpose in a specific context.

This study therefore looks at IDs in context through a large case study. While I did not observe classrooms, I asked informants about each of their teachers' classes in all their years of mainstream and supplementary English lessons. I looked at the particularities of how, for each informant, individual learner factors changed over time and in different circumstances inside and outside of school. In Beebe (1994) I found that seven female Japanese high school students who spoke English exceptionally well had much to tell about how and why they independently learned to speak English. In this current study I included both females and males, those with high and low oral proficiency, and students from a variety of schools. The heart of this study is systematic but flexible interviews concerning a wide range of learning factors.

The research questions addressed in this article are (a) What learning opportunities and individual learner differences (IDs) are associated with the successful development of oral proficiency in English as a foreign language by Japanese high school students? and (b) What can be learned by selecting and quantifying qualitatively-derived factors which vary between students with high and low oral proficiency?

Methodology

Participants and Research Sites

I focused on third year high school students, aged seventeen and eighteen. I met with forty-three students ("participants") and eventually chose eighteen focal students ("informants") for my in-depth study. Informants came from eleven different schools, both in the Tokyo metropolitan area and some mid-sized cities several hours beyond commuting distance to Tokyo. The schools were academically-oriented schools from which most graduates continued on to two-year colleges or universities, as indeed all the informants planned to do. All of the informants were average to above-average students in virtually all their school subjects. While I designate five informants as Lows based on their poor speaking abilities, both High and Low informants had at least average grades in their English classes, where speaking is not tested. One High male is actually a Taiwanese Chinese who has lived in Japan since he was five and is better at Japanese than Chinese.

I told the teachers who recruited participants for me at their schools that I wanted to interview mainly students who were exceptionally good English speakers but also some more typical students. In fact, I had a hard time finding participants who were clearly much worse than the best speakers, as apparently teachers wanted to show off their best students and these good speakers were more apt to agree to meet me. It was especially hard to recruit females who could not speak well, and the informant group is composed of eight High females and five High males and one Low female and four Low males. The longest total time that any informant had been abroad was six weeks.

Testing Oral Proficiency

I used a Story-Retelling task to select informants with High and Low oral proficiency and exclude the midrange participants by measuring the participants' ability to (a) speak fluently, with speed and continuity; and (b) to use their knowledge of English, their speaking skills, and their memories to verbally convey the plot of a story in a comprehensible way. I tested students with a wide range of ability, so the task gave a great deal of support and made it possible to measure even very short and disjointed speech production with precision. The text came from an illustrated children's story by Wells (1992). I shortened and simplified her story and added Japanese glossing of some words. Participants read the story and looked at the illustrations while also listening to a tape of the story being read aloud. They then had three minutes to study the story and ask questions. Then they read and heard the story once again before having to reproduce the story in either their own or the original words while turning pages of an illustration-only, no-text version of the story.

I roughly and holistically divided the participants into those with high, medium, and low speaking ability by listening to random samples of their interview and retelling tapes. The retelling tapes of potential informants--those who seemed to have the strongest and weakest speaking ability--were transcribed and scored to arrive at a final selection. Following Lennon (1990), Fluency scores were calculated by counting syllables per second, excluding disfluencies such as unfinished or repeated words and fillers such as *uh*. Information Conveyance scores rated both the degree to which speakers successfully communicated any of the information contained in the original text and the degree to which they communicated the most important points of the story. The story retellings of five native speakers of English (NS) were analyzed to divide the text into information units worth from one to three points depending on how many of the NSs mentioned each unit. Three NSs scored the potential informants' transcripts, using the criteria of whether someone who was following the illustrations but did not know the story would be able to understand what the speaker meant to convey. By dividing the time taken to retell the story by the Information Conveyance score, I arrived at an Efficiency score. As an example of how the groups differed, on Efficiency, the NSs averaged .99, the Highs, .37, and the Lows, .16. *T*-tests of the scores of the Highs and Lows on Fluency, Information Conveyance, and Efficiency demonstrated the distinctiveness of the High and Low groups in oral ability. Details of both descriptive and inferential statistics, as well as inter-rater reliability figures are available in Beebe (1998).

The Interview Sessions

I conducted all the interviews myself, referring to a bilingual interview protocol and asking additional questions as appropriate, using English, Japanese or both in succession. All thirteen of the Highs spoke English during their interviews, with varying degrees of use of Japanese, while all but one of the five Lows did their interviews in Japanese. I am a female European-American who has taught English in Japan at both the secondary and post-secondary levels, but not at the schools the participants attended. I rate my oral-aural proficiency in Japanese at about the Advanced (the seventh highest of nine levels) on the ACTFL scale (see Clark and Clifford, 1988). The interviews were transcribed and translated into English by bilingual NSs of Japanese. Interviews ranged in time between forty minutes and over two hours.

I began audio-taping each session as I asked the participant questions about a bilingual Questionnaire which was filled out previously. It was composed of a grid with sections for the participant to fill in for elementary school and for each year of junior and senior high school (the six years when all participants studied English at their mainstream schools). Participants wrote down in either Japanese or English whether they had experienced (a) extra lessons of any kind outside of school (b) foreign teachers, English conversation classes, or an English club at school (c) contact with foreigners or returnees in Japan or a foreign penpal (d) travel abroad by the participant or family members and (e) use of any English language materials (including entertainment media) that were not assigned by a school.

Interview and Questionnaire Findings

Denzin (1978, p. 103) writes that "starting with loose sensitizing definitions of their concepts, [naturalistic researchers] empirically operationalize the concepts only after having entered the worlds...that they wish to understand." I sifted through the interview data and arrived at thirty-two factors divided into the four categories of Schooling, Solitary Strategies, Interpersonal Strategies, and Attitudes. I considered these factors to have influenced the informants' English learning on the basis of the informants' comments on their practical or affective importance, my judgment of their potential for contributing to L2 oral proficiency, frequency of mention, and the extent to which the factor was stronger for either the High or the Low informants. I roughly and holistically quantified the presence and strength of each factor for each individual, judging whether the factor manifested in a strong (3), medium (2), weak (1), nonexistent (0) or negative (-1) way. (See Beebe, 1998, for details.) What follows is a brief explanation and sometimes examples of each factor, with the means for Highs and Lows noted.

Schooling

The English education that both the Highs and Lows received at school and in the test-preparation after-school cram schools that they had all attended was largely similar, but Highs more often encountered a teacher who supported the development of oral-aural skills. I asked the informants for each year of their schooling if their teachers ever used English to say things such as "Open your book to page..." or "Why are you late?", and most of their teachers had not. However, somewhere along the way, the Highs were more apt to have encountered a teacher who spoke spontaneous English in the classroom, beyond reading sentences directly out of the textbook. The thirteen Highs averaged 2.2; medium strength on this factor, while the five Lows had a mean score of 1; weak (see Table 1). During my interview with one Low informant, his teacher entered the room to discuss a logistical matter with me, and after the teacher left, the informant expressed his amazement to find that his teacher could speak conversational English. He said that he had never once heard any teacher speak English.

Highs also more often had chances to speak English during their six years of mainstream school lessons; most Highs had had at least one teacher who had students do more than read an answer directly off of the page, while more than half of the Lows never once had such a chance. The Highs had a mean of 2 vs. the Lows' mean of .6. Often such chances came from a teacher calling a student to answer a question without a textbook or homework assignment to read off of. Pair or small group work was very rare.

The Highs had more classroom time with NS English teachers than the Lows did (1.9 vs. 1). Although NS teachers working in the schools either permanently or as visitors did not always speak English or have students speak English, in general, more spontaneous English occurred in their classrooms and the informants' interest in English was likely to be boosted.

Highs were more often chosen to represent their class or school in recitation or speech contests (1.1 vs. .6). This, of course, is at least as much a result as a cause of their English speaking ability. However, the contests occasioned intense oral production practice, and in some cases, one-to-one coaching with a teacher. Furthermore, the contestants were awarded public status as English *speakers*, not merely as English *students*, who are usually expected to remain silent, and it appears that the contests positively affected the self-identity and confidence of some informants.

Fifteen out of the eighteen informants went to outside English lessons that were not mainly aimed at raising test grades, either before junior high or during the secondary years. Only three out of thirty-two factors were stronger for the Lows than for the Highs. One such factor was exposure to English in formal lessons prior to starting English lessons at school in junior high school. The Lows scored 1.8 and the Highs 1.5. The Highs however, had more of a conversation orientation to their lessons and had more fun lessons, with games, songs, etc., which introduced them to techniques for using and studying English that they seldom encountered in their subsequent mainstream school lessons. Outside conversation lessons during the secondary years were much stronger for Highs than for Lows (2 vs. .4), both in the amount of time devoted to such non-test related lessons and in the amount of English conversation that actually occurred at so-called conversation classes.

The pre-junior high lessons were usually instigated by the informants' mothers. Conversation lessons in the secondary years only occurred when the informants themselves talked their parents into letting them attend these lessons that even the informants themselves felt did not contribute much to their test scores. The Lows voiced the opinion along with the Highs that being able to speak English is a good thing, but the Lows do not consider it a priority at this point in their English careers. The Lows say that they may go to a conversation school in their college years, but they believe that cram school is much more important now. More of the Highs on the other hand, refuse to give up enjoying learning to speak and listen, while they also do well in reading and writing tests.

Table 1

Learning Factors Related to Oral Proficiency

Factor / Group Mean	Highs n=13	Lows n=5
Schooling		
English teacher/s spoke spontaneous English	2.2	1.0
Students had spontaneous speaking chances	2.0	0.6
Native speaker English teacher	1.9	1.0
Recitation/speech contest participation	1.1	0.6
English lessons prior to junior high	1.5	1.8
Outside conversation lessons	2,0	0.4
Solitary Strategies		
Self-chosen entertainment listening materials	1.5	0.2
Pedagogical listening	2.0	1.8
Intense repetitive listening	1.8	0.4
Read and/or repeated aloud	1.9	1.4
Sang English songs	2.2	0.2
Form-focused textbooks and reference books	1.8	2.6
Content-focused reading	0.9	1.4
Advice: practice with media—music, radio, movies, etc.	1.9	0.4
Prefers to focus on meaning rather than form	1.7	0.8
Thought in English as a practice technique	0.8	0.0
Interpersonal Strategies		
Advice: speaking practice with a partner	1.6	1.6
Sought non-Japanese, especially NS interlocutors	2.4	0.6
Wants to talk to non-Japanese, especially NSs	1.9	-.6
Use of Japanese interlocutors for English practice	1.4	0.6
Volunteered to speak English at secondary school	1.8	0.2
Traveled abroad (used English)	1.8	0.8
Wrote letters in English to non-Japanese	1.5	0.4
Attitudes		
Believes s/he will become an excellent English speaker	1.8	0.4
Effect of failure on motivation to study (+ or -)	0.2	-.2
Desire to master communicative, interactive English	2.3	1.0
Integrative motivation—interest in people and culture	2.0	1.6
Wants to live abroad	1.5	0.2
Distancing motivation	1.8	0.0
Future career plans requiring oral proficiency	2.4	0.6
Specific experience sparked interest in English	1.4	0.8
Academic study plans calling for English	1.9	0.4

Scoring Key
3 = strong (behavior often engaged in, opinion strongly expressed, etc.)
2 = medium or strength unknown
1 = weak
0 = informant did not report this factor or said that it does not apply
-1 = the opposite is true for this informant

Solitary Learning Strategies

In this study, for want of a better term, *strategy* is used more broadly than in most SLA research. I classify as strategies those ways in which the informants chose to use English beyond study and homework required for school and cram school. *Strategy* refers to a language use activity, whether engaged in for communication, for enjoyment, or for language learning, and I include behaviors as broad as traveling abroad and as narrow as reading aloud. In a few cases I also include behaviors which the informants said they would or would not engage in if given a chance or would advise others to follow.

One of the most striking findings of this study is the extent to which solitary exposure to and use of English seems to have contributed to the ability of the Highs to interact face-to-face in English, as demonstrated by both their scores on the Story Retelling task and their willingness and ability to conduct their interviews in English, which for some of them was their first sustained interaction in English or first time to talk to a non-Japanese. Highs made more use of self-chosen entertainment listening materials; music, movies, TV shows, and radio stations with English-speaking DJs (1.5 vs. .2). They often used such materials for fun more than as a study technique, and often used them very intensively. For example, one High watched the same Disney *Beauty and the Beast* video without subtitles fifteen to twenty times, understanding fifty percent the first time and seventy or eighty percent now. Another stopped and rewound portions of an entertainment movie video in order to take dictation of the dialog or consult a dictionary. Both Highs and Lows made good use of pedagogical listening materials (2 vs. 1.8), and some Highs listened to radio English lessons almost daily for five or six years. One High would memorize the essays on the pedagogical tape she used and recite them aloud and write them out. On especially intensive or repetitive use of either type of listening material, Highs scored 1.8 and Low .4.

Highs spent more time repeating aloud after tapes or broadcast texts and also reading aloud (1.9 vs. 1.4). One High female likes to read so loudly that her family has to tell her to shut up. One of the biggest differences between the two groups is in singing English songs (2.2 vs. .2). Several Highs can sing fifteen to twenty English songs by memory. Again, the Highs mainly sing for fun, although some informants checked the meaning of songs with the dictionary or wrote out a Japanese translation. Songs thus provide the informants with both linguistic input and mechanical practice that leads to oral fluency.

In general, when studying autonomously, Lows often do more of the same sort of study they must do for assignments, while Highs adventure into techniques which they devise on their own or have learned at their extra non-academic English lessons. The Lows were more apt to use self-chosen reading materials than the Highs were. Lows scored 2.6 and Highs scored 1.8 on use of form-focused textbooks and reference books. The Lows scored 1.4 and the Highs .9 on use of content-focused materials such as magazines for English learners or the sixty Sherlock Holmes stories that a High informant read in the original unsimplified English after having read the stories in Japanese.

Highs have more fun studying English and also advise a hypothetical teacher or student of English to use audio or visual media and games to learn English more often than Lows do (1.9 vs. .4). Highs more often than Lows said that they prefer to focus on meaning rather than on form (1.7 vs. .8).

These differences in the types of solitary techniques employed probably both contribute to and are a result of the higher oral proficiency of the Highs. For example, it was only some of the Highs who report that they sometimes think in English as a study technique (.8 vs. 0), and the Highs are more apt to use challenging authentic materials. This solitary study prepares Highs for the difficult task of conversing face-to-face in real time, while the Lows tend to freeze at that prospect. The Highs have discovered that they can tackle difficult materials because in solitude they can listen repeatedly, consult reference books, and be unobserved and therefore unjudged in their struggles. One Low informant who tried listening to the English of a video once and decided that it was too hard and that she could not help reading the subtitles. Compare her with the High informant who tapes paper over the bottom of his TV screen so he cannot read the subtitles. He says that he can understand ten percent of the English dialog the first time. He then watches the movie again, reading the Japanese subtitles, and the third time, when he watches the movie with the subtitles again covered, he can understand fifty percent.

Interpersonal Strategies

Highs and Lows in equal numbers advise a hypothetical student to practice speaking English with someone (both 1.6), but it is the Highs who have actually taken risks to do this. As mentioned under Schooling, Highs more often went to outside conversation lessons, and they often did this as a means of speaking English with foreigners. The Highs more often sought out NS or foreign interlocutors (the informants rarely distinguish between the two) than the Lows did (2.4 vs. .6), for example, taking the initiative to strike up conversations with foreign teachers or students at their high schools or going to international exchange events. The Lows have rarely sought such chances, and most say they would probably avoid them as they "can't speak English." When it comes to English speaking partners, Highs prefer foreigners and Lows prefer Japanese interlocutors. The Highs scored 1.9 on wanting to speak with foreigners and the Lows scored -.6. The Highs scored 1.4 on wanting to use or having found Japanese interlocutors, while the Lows scored .6. Some informants have found one or several schoolmates to practice speaking English with informally, just for the fun of using English or talking about popular culture. This is not easy to do, as they virtually never see anyone, teachers or students, speaking English outside the classroom. The informants fear picking up incorrect English from a Japanese peer or lapsing back into Japanese, and some who have tried speaking buddies still do not recommend the practice. The Highs, however, can at least conceive of themselves as English speakers. More of them have volunteered to speak English at school at some point (1.8 vs. .2), for example, raising their hands to ask a question of a visiting foreign teacher.

An obvious occasion for speaking English is during travel abroad, and the Highs have been abroad more and have also used English more while there (these combine as a score of 1.8 for the Highs and .8 for the Lows). The one Low who spoke English abroad, on a homestay trip, was the only Low who did his interview in English. The Highs often persuaded their parents to let them take a trip abroad and while there, would go up to strangers and speak English. One High spoke English with her Japanese roommate on a school trip to the U.S., and she says that none of the other girls from her school did so. She also made a point of talking to the Mexican students at the U.S. English language school rather than to the Japanese students.

Trips abroad, as well as penpal clubs, gave many Highs the chance to correspond in English (1.5 vs. .4). Letters offer a rare chance to compose English, as school lessons usually only call for translation and sentence transformation writing. One High wrote love letters to a woman he met on a trip in his high school years until she got married. Another High currently writes in English to three people about five times a year each.

Attitudes

I use the term *attitudes* to cover a variety of factors having to do with affect, goals, preferences, motivation, and self-identity. They largely overlap with the ID factors that Gardner and MacIntyre (1993 p. 1) group as affective variables, "those emotionally relevant characteristics of the individual that influence how she/he will respond to any situation." The factors I highlight as attitudes are more changeable and more easily influenced by the individual student or teacher than factors such as aptitude and personality, and they in turn can powerfully influence learning for good or ill.

In general, the Highs feel much more positive about English. More of the Highs believe that they will some day become excellent speakers of English (1.8 vs. .4), some believing it is possible to do so even without leaving Japan. For those informants who brought up a specific experience of failure with English, the effect was usually positive for Highs (.2) and usually negative for Lows (-.2). For example, some Highs spoke of finding out while abroad that their academic studies had not prepared them to communicate face-to-face and therefore being spurred on to study English conversation on returning to Japan.

Highs more often and more strongly expressed a desire to master communicative English (2.3 vs. 1), complaining more, for example, about the emphasis on grammar at school. They also showed more of an integrative motivation (2 vs. 1.6). Expressions of such desires as to go on a homestay, to travel in order to make foreign friends, to marry a foreigner, or to learn about other cultures were rated as indications of integrative motivation. Gardner (1985), and more recently, Gardner and MacIntyre (1991) contrast an *integrative motivation,* directed effort toward language learning fueled by personal interest in the people and culture of the other language, with *instrumental motivation*, stemming from the practical advantages of learning the language, such as job opportunities. As an example of integrative motivation, since age six, one High female has been attracted to the glamour of blue-eyed blond movie stars and singers, and has wanted to learn English and French. Many informants want to live abroad for instrumental or integrative reasons, or both. Whether for work, study, or for the life style or relationships that other countries afford, more Highs than Lows want to live abroad some day (1.5 vs. .2).

Another related motivation the Highs, but not the Lows, displayed in the interviews was a distancing motivation (1.8 vs. 0). Their unusual English ability gives these informants the means to get out of Japan on their own and also contributes to their self-image as something other than a stereotypical Japanese boy or girl with a stereotypical future. Perhaps having a self-identity as an English-speaker, with the mostly positive connotations that has in Japan, (educated, internationalized, cool, etc.) affords the informants some psychic breathing space in their current lives. The Highs do not usually mind being thought of as strange for speaking English in front of their friends. Several of the females said they want careers of more substance than being "office ladies" pouring tea for a few years before quitting, and they believe that their English skills will give them access to more interesting jobs. One says that she may never marry. Some of the males are proud of things like being Americanized, being able to talk to beautiful Australian women on the beach, or liking English pop music instead of the Japanese pop music his friends like. Gun, the Taiwanese informant, attributed his sudden increase in English study and the use of new independent study techniques during his third year of high school to his increased interest in learning English, which he said was motivated by an increased *disinterest* in the Japanese language and everything about Japan and his life in Japan.

Many of the Highs have career plans or dreams which will require more conversational English ability than that obtained by most Japanese university graduates (2.4 vs. .6). One could say that these informants have an instrumental motivation, however, the age of the informants and the glamorous nature of some of their desired jobs suggests that their choice concerns more than earning a paycheck, and is related to a distancing and integrative motivation, too. Hisako (the one who likes glamorous blondes) wants to be a movie marketer, either in America, or to please her parents, in Japan. (All the girls have been given names ending in *ko*.) Masa wants to be a bilingual DJ; Osamu, an international journalist; Eriko, an international tour conductor. Rieko wanted to be a translator, then a secretary who would use English, and now she wants to be a flight attendant. Kazu and Noriko have more mundane goals--they want to be English teachers, and Gun (from Taiwan) wants to be a dental engineer in Japan until he is thirty-five and then go abroad and become a Japanese teacher.

Often clearly remembered events or influences sparked the motivation that led to an informant's special interest in English (1.4 vs. .8). These sometimes also led to a career interest; as in Masa being inspired by a bilingual DJ on the radio or Eriko reading a mystery with an international tour conductor as heroine. At around age ten, Wakako dubbed the movie ET off the TV bilingually and was surprised and fascinated that she could not understand the English soundtrack. This inspired her to take radio English lessons, using the accompanying textbook, every day for two years.

Concrete needs for English for academic study plans also motivate speaking and listening practice. More of the Highs than the Lows have academic plans for sometime after high school that will call for conversational English skills (1.9 vs. .4). Several want to participate in exchange programs or obtain degrees abroad, and two have taken steps such as researching foreign universities and trying the TOEFL test.

The Highs have concrete goals demanding exceptional English proficiency, while the Lows simply think that English is a good thing to know. Both Highs and Lows think that English is best learned abroad, but the conclusion of the

Lows is that it is therefore better to forget about speaking in the meantime and concentrate on passing tests, while the conclusion of the Highs is that they had better start getting good enough at speaking to be able to go abroad.

Discussion

Research Implications

The solutions to both educational and research problems are to be found in the context of that problem. I believe that the field of ID research would benefit from less dependence on large-scale questionnaire surveys. Such surveys have enriched our knowledge of the variety of ways in which learners can differ and have helped researchers to more precisely distinguish between factors by disseminating a shared language. Computer-assisted analysis of surveys offers new views of the relationship between factors. Surveys also seem to offer a quick easy way to find out about a group of learners, but Griffee (1999) explains the time consuming process of questionnaire development, and Sakamoto (1996) questions the extent to which translations of questionnaires are measuring the same construct as the original. Careful questionnaire research may take as much time as in-depth interviews, observing in natural settings, collecting learners' diaries, and other such research methodologies that might provide much richer data. My impression is that reports on these other non-experimental research methodologies are less common than surveys in the SLA ID literature, including JALT publications and presentations.

One would not want to depend only on satellite maps of the hemisphere to find one's way across town. The SLA field will be moved forward and teachers will learn more about their own students if surveys are used as one source of triangulation. For example, Simmons (1996) presents data from strategy surveys filled out before and after six weeks of study along with field notes taken from interview/strategy training sessions and learners' diaries. Ishikawa (1996) suggests that we will learn more about our students by simply having them write in an unstructured way about what they wish to do in the class than by having them fill out a generic questionnaire. Snow, Hyland, Kamhi-Stein, and Yu (1996) interviewed junior high students with a card sort activity that allowed each student to explain and rank each of their choices for ingredients of an ideal class as well as to add two ingredients of their own. These choices could then be quantified and statistically analyzed with some assurance that the researchers and the students shared an understanding of the factor's meaning. LoCastro (1994) employed group discussions to allow learners to explain situational contingencies and strategies they had not been able to detail with Oxford's (1990) Strategy Inventory for Language Learning (SILL). Keim, Furuya, Doye, and Carlson (1996) examined the mismatch between the learning strategies and attitudes that learners profess to value when surveyed and the way they actually behave in the classroom. The researchers arrived at a much richer understanding of the realities of learning or teaching a language than if one year had done a study of strategies and the next year a study of attitudes.

The extent to which individual learners have relatively fixed characteristic learning styles is open to question in the SLA field. Yamashita (1996) found that reported learning styles varied according to the current year in high school and whether time had been spent abroad. Reid's position seems to have evolved from a firm belief in fixedness (1995, p. viii) to an acknowledgment that styles can evolve (1998, p. xiii). My study's retrospective approach revealed instances of informants' autonomous strategies becoming much more aurally-oriented after various sorts of stimulation, such as exposure to new study techniques in conversation classes, being attracted to foreign culture, realizing how much conversational skills were lacking after being abroad, wanting foreign friends, deciding on long-range plans to live abroad, feeling distanced from mainstream Japanese culture, or reacting against excessive test-oriented study.

LoCastro (1994) writes that the learning context influences purpose, which influences strategy choice. Qualitative research can best highlight such relationships. While an optional background questionnaire on Oxford's (1990) SILL asks respondents why they want to learn another language, it still does not connect a particular strategy with a particular purpose. Some of my informants could almost be said to be learning two separate languages, as one might study both Latin and a modern language--written test-oriented English at school and conversational English on their own. Depending on which sort of English they were thinking of, those informants might have very different answers to questions about strategies employed, motivation, preferences, beliefs, etc.

The informants balance what they want to do for their own short-term purposes (having fun, connecting with people, etc.) and long-term purposes (work, life abroad, etc.) with what they need to do for school and entrance exams. This study thus demonstrates the need for "a new conception of strategy research, one that focuses not on learner strategies but rather on learning strategies and the intricate interplay of learner and teacher in their determination," (Woods, 1997, p. 115). Factors may indeed consistently cluster into apparent learning styles when surveys are analyzed, but how much will having a taxonomy of types of styles or strategies tell us about the problems and potential of a particular individual's complex learning history? We must know what world the learner lives in and what identity has developed there, what experiences have been encountered and what they meant to that learner, where the learner wants to head and how far she or he expects to get. (The dissertation this paper is based on includes several case studies of individual informants.)

Reid's (1998) widely-used Perceptual Learning Style Preference survey identifies second language (L2) learner types such as "auditory" learners, whom she says benefit from hearing lectures or audiotapes or conversing with their teacher. This category would not fit several of my Lows who enjoy taped listening exercises but are loath to speak English to anyone. Learners do not manifest a particular type of learning style in a social vacuum. Many of my informants have never encountered a social context where those with less than native-like skills have the right to speak English freely, so they say that they can't speak English and refuse to try.

Because this paper briefly summarizes an in-depth study, my results may sound similar to those found with large-scale questionnaire-based surveys. Surveys of large numbers of learners with precise yes/no or scaled answer choices give an appearance of exact knowledge. But many surveys do not specify, for example, whether reference is being made to the learners' current language class/es or their whole learning career, use of the L1 or L2, interaction with or one-way input from a NS or NNS, or speaking to a partner or to the whole class.

When an informant in this current study reported studying with videos I soon knew if she was the one informant who once had one teacher who used a video in class one day or the informant who studied at home with ten to twenty different movie videos. Of course, a survey could ask learners whether they "seldom," "often," etc. use videos, but I also know that the classroom teacher did nothing with the video but play it once, while at home Eriko watches each movie twice, for Japanese, then English, and also rewinds the videotape to catch bits she misses. A survey will tell me what percentage of a group wants to speak English or has conversed in English, but in my study I know that the informant who says that she wants to learn how to speak English is the same one seldom says a word when she has a chance to talk to a foreigner.

In theory, questionnaires could specify as much detail in questions and answers and be customized to a specific context almost as much as face-to-face interviews, but the reality is usually different. Developing questions meaningful to respondents, readers, and researchers takes time, and replication is an important step in the positivistic research process, so it is tempting to transfer questionnaires to contexts to which they are not appropriate. Reid's (1998) survey for ESL/EFL learners on perceptual learning styles, for example, stems from general classroom education research, and despite her modifications, still seems to be a more appropriate way to investigate how one learns history in one's L1 than how one learns to converse in an L2. Her survey makes no reference to audiovisual materials or learning by speaking. Reid identifies auditory learners with questions such as "I learn better in class when I listen to someone," (p. 163). Some of my informants complained about how badly certain teachers spoke English. Is the student answering Reid's survey question envisioning a NS or a NNS, speaking the L1 or the L2 well or badly, on tape or live? The survey seems to float in a cloud of learning style theory far above the terrain of real-life language learners. For example, it asks respondents if they learn better by making drawings as they study but does not ask about learning by writing words or sentences. (The method for learning new vocabulary that was mentioned the most often by my informants was that of writing words over and over again.) Reid herself (personal communication, 1998) has said that "surveys are not great research instruments," and that her survey is best used for learners to explore their own styles. I believe that individual interviews such as I employed qualitatively illuminate much that remains unknown when we read and attempt to interpret survey results.

Pedagogical Applications

This study suggests that teachers who even occasionally used spontaneous English or let students do so help students to attain higher oral proficiency. This suggests that teachers do not need to be helplessly stuck in the impasse of schools that teach for the tests and tests that only measure what students have learned in their grammar-translation dominated mainstream classes and testing-skills cram schools. There are other students in Japan who like most of the Highs are eager to learn English conversation. If teachers take just a little time to model helpful behaviors—speaking English, trying authentic materials, etc.-- and allow students to network, it may catalyze changes in attitudes and inspire independent study or practice with peers by interested students. Murphey (1995) speaks of the importance of both non-native speaker (NNS) teachers and students serving as role models. By themselves speaking some spontaneous English in class, NNS teachers can assist their students by demonstrating that one does not have to have native-like proficiency in order to have the ability or the right to speak English. Holliday (1996, p. 235) writes that "all English language educators need to be constantly critical and aware of the social influences and implications of what they do," and by allowing themselves to unapologetically speak imperfect English, teachers demonstrate how students too can empower themselves. The power of this example was evident to me when the Low informant expressed amazement to see his teacher speak English.

Teachers may feel that they cannot devote enough time away from presenting and explaining textbook lessons for speaking and listening activities to make any practical difference. However, if teachers devoted a little time to requiring students to speak some English not written on a page or immediately repeated after a tape, students would experience themselves as English speakers and not just English students. Students would be forced to at least revise their idea that they "cannot speak English" to they "cannot speak well," and if a speaking activity was repeated even once a semester over the years, students would have the chance to see some improvement in their speaking skills.

One High told me how she spoke English for fun with a few girls at her junior high but in three years had never found an English speaking buddy at her high school. Teachers may not organize pair work or small group speaking activities because they assume or know from experience that students will simply speak Japanese, but even if most students speak Japanese or remain silent, the few in each class who choose to speak English will have a way of finding each other for possible speaking practice outside of class. Those less reticent students can both offer each other moral support and serve as a model for other students who might try speaking English the next time.

Teachers can encourage independent study by having students bring in and discuss any extra materials or resources they know of. Ryan (1997) and Davis (1995) offer lists of ideas, including print and broadcast resources in Japan. Students could loan each other the sort of magazines, tapes, and videos that my informants bought or recorded off of TV or radio. Some informants were bolstered in their independent study by finding peers they could talk to about English-language music and movies, so teachers should make it clear that non-pedagogical materials are welcome, and that if the students are exchanging information about English use, some Japanese language will be tolerated.

Many of the informants in this study seem to have learned to speak English in large part through the highly motivated use of self-chosen listening materials. Teachers who must stick to textbooks for the main content of their teaching could still devote one lesson to working with a video or song in the sorts of ways my informants did, such as taking dictation, singing along, repeating, translating, consulting dictionaries, and listening to the English first before reading the Japanese translation (seldom done at school). In this way, new strategies could be modeled that some students might try at home when more time is available, and when they can choose their favorite materials, such as the Beauty and the Beast video that was bought because it made the informant cry. In fact, the autonomous study that many of the informants engaged in was an extension of the sort of intensively analytic or memory-based strategies they learn at school, but with the difference that informants used self-chosen, authentic, and audio materials--all rarities at school.

Another finding of this study is that situations and goals requiring conversation skills often motivate the Highs to study listening and speaking, as when one High escorted a group of foreign students around her high school. Schools can put up posters for homestay, penpal, host family, and foreign travel and study programs, or better yet, provide information or organize such programs. Japanese adults who use English in their careers could also be invited to visit English classes, and the informants often mentioned liking their teachers' personal stories of foreign travel or foreign friends, even when these stories were told in Japanese. One goal of many informants is to make foreign friends, so schools can therefore invite foreign teachers and students for long-term or one-day visits. Such classroom visits by foreigners were when some informants first realized that English was a communicative tool and not just an intellectual exercise.

Finally, this study suggests to teachers the extent to which some students who are sitting looking bored in our classrooms may actually be highly motivated to study English; motivated in the sense of liking English, having learning goals and purposes, and spending a great deal of time on autonomous English study. Before we underestimate or give up on students, we should find out what they are doing on their own and why, and what lessons their experiences can offer to the teacher and other students.

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